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PREFACE

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

THE earliest historian of the English Reformation appears to have been Foxe. The venerable martyrologist, however, has rather presented us with a series of valuable documents and important statements, than with a continuous narrative. Within a few years after the appearance of his work, Sanders, a plotting English Romanist, published a copious treatise in defence of the papal supremacy [a], containing numerous aspersions upon those who had aided in emancipating England from that usurpation. These misrepresentations were promptly exposed by Ackworth [b] and Clerk [c], under the pa-

[a] De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ.

[b] De Vis. Mon. contra Nic. Sanderi Mon. προλεγομενα. G. Acwortho authore.

[c] Fidelis Servi Subdito Infideli Responsio.

tronage of Archbishop Parker. Soon after the death of Sanders, who perished miserably in Ireland, whither he had gone for the purpose of instigating a revolt, his famous work on the Schism of England was printed at Cologne. This might seem to be the principal, if not the only source of information, which foreign Romanists have ever consulted upon the subject of our national departure from their communion. Nor is the case apparently very different even with English adherents to the papal party: their writers being usually contented to follow as Sanders leads. Yet this author is obviously unworthy of any such deference. Some of his statements are so monstrous that they shock belief. His whole work is composed with little regard to chronological order, or to the importance of the facts which it professes to relate; trivial matters occupying an undue space, and interesting ones being nearly or wholly overlooked. The publication, accordingly, called forth no regular history from any Protestant contemporary; nothing more important appearing on the other side than the *Anti-Sanderus*; a brief attack upon such portions principally in the work of Sanders, as were most offensive to Queen Elizabeth.

In the next age appeared a complete history of the Reformation from the pen of the able and laborious Dr. Peter Heylin. This work, however,

though highly valuable, is not sufficiently full for the satisfaction of a critical enquirer, it is also deficient in the citation of authorities, and it is written, as perhaps, a clerical author living at the time of the Great Rebellion, might be expected to write, with something of an unfriendly feeling against those who disturbed an established order of ecclesiastical affairs even for the purpose of introducing a system allowedly superior. Heylin's history, therefore, justly failed of satisfying his countrymen. Hence the indefatigable Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, was encouraged to undertake a new account of England's rupture with Rome. His work appeared at the time when the reigning King, Charles II. was generally suspected, certainly not without reason, of a leaning towards Popery, when the heir presumptive, James, Duke of York, was an avowed member of the Romish communion, and when besides, the whole nation was agitated by profligate accounts of an extensive Popish plot. Burnet, accordingly, gained immense applause from his history; being even honoured, in consequence, with a parliamentary vote of thanks. This compliment was probably excessive, but it cannot be denied, that Burnet's labours entitled him to public gratitude. He treated a most important portion of the national history in a manner far more complete than any author who had written upon it before, and he rendered the

bulk of his statements unassailable by accompanying them with the original documents from which they are derived. Nevertheless, unfriendly critics immediately arose to depreciate his production. The very learned Henry Wharton published under the name of Anthony Harmer, various corrections of it; a service which would have redounded much more to the annotator's honour, had it not been rendered with an undeserved asperity. The laborious and erudite non-juror, Jeremy Collier, also animadverted upon Burnet's work in a harsh and hypercritical manner. In France, the Abbé Le Grand undertook the same ungracious office; but he detracted from the value of his labours by taking Sanders as his historical guide. All these attacks upon Burnet must, however, be considered as substantial failures. Unfriendly as were the hands from which they proceeded, nothing more resulted from them than the correction of some not very important inaccuracies. A farther confirmation of Burnet's integrity was soon afterwards indirectly furnished by the diligent Strype, who published numerous volumes detailing the history of the Reformation, and supported by an immense mass of documents never before printed. These important works, however, though adding greatly to our information respecting the period of which Burnet wrote, afford not the least ground for suspecting the general accuracy of his history.

From the documentary evidence accumulated in the supplemental volumes of Burnet and Strype, the present work has chiefly been compiled. Much information has also been used from other contemporary sources; as may be seen by the marginal references. Hence these volumes, though offering but few particulars not already in print, are neither a modernisation of any preceding history, nor is the information which they contain to be found in any other single work. The Author's objects have been the discovery and statement of truth. In seeking for which he has deferred implicitly to no authority, however established in public estimation, but he has examined afresh every conspicuous incident to which his attention has been called. His enquiries have led him to value more highly than ever the privileges of English birth, and a scriptural faith. Nor can he doubt, that an attentive perusal of the evidence published in illustration of England's defection from papal Rome will generally lead to a conviction that her ecclesiastical Reformers attained important, and even also necessary ends, through wise and unexceptionable means.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

DURING THE

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

CHAPTER I.

Mary retires to Kenninghall—Her letter to the Council—Lady Jane Grey—She is proclaimed Queen—Northumberland's arrangements in support of her pretensions—Mary assumes the Sovereignty—The conspiracy in her favour—The Lady Jane relinquishes her pretensions—Mary's entry into London—King Edward's funeral—The Queen pledges herself to toleration—Tumult at St. Paul's Cross—Trial of Northumberland—His execution—Severities against Protestants—Archbishop Cranmer prepares for adversity—He vindicates himself from calumny—He is imprisoned in the Tower—Bishop Gardiner appointed to the Chancellorship—Commendone's mission—Cardinal Pole's correspondence—His journey to Dillingen—Matrimonial negociations between Mary and Philip of Spain—Gardiner's anxiety to prevent the premature return of Pole—The Queen's coronation—Removal of the foreign Protestants—The Romish service illegally introduced—The Queen's first Parliament—Trial and attainder of the Lady Jane, Cranmer, and others—The Archbishop's letter to the Queen—The Convocation—Debate upon Transubstantiation—Treaty for the Queen's marriage—Dissatisfaction of the nation—Wyat's rebellion—Execution of the Lady Jane—Other executions—The Spirit in the Wall—Mr. Justice Hales—The Queen's injunctions—Deprivation of the Protestant bishops—Persecution of the married clergy—The Queen's second Parliament.

SHORT as the late reign had been, it did not close

before the Reformation was so far complete as to afford enquiring minds ample means of estimating its value. The Sacred Record had been honestly unlocked, and the Church relieved from every principle and usage incapable of solid justification from that infallible authority. For conciliating quickly and fully the popular admiration of a system so securely founded, nothing was better calculated than an opportunity of contrasting it with the worst features of the system which it had superseded. The new reign rendered this important service to the mighty cause of scriptural truth. Oppression and misery soon overspread every corner of the land, and the memory of a princess, personally virtuous, has descended to posterity with a traditional note of infamy. Her infatuated counsels were generally charged upon the religion which she professed, and hence, when the voice of authority again called Englishmen to the unquestionable faith of apostles and evangelists, it was obeyed with an alacrity never seen before.

Edward's case having become desperate, a letter was despatched from the council, in the royal name, to the Lady Mary, summoning her to court, as it was alleged, for the purpose of comforting her brother in his sickness. The Princess received this call with pleasure, and immediately proceeded towards the metropolis[a]. Being arrived at Hunsdon[b], she was apprised of the King's real state, and therefore, naturally suspecting some sinister intent on the part of those who had required her attendance, she

[a] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 154. [b] Hayward, 327.

suspended her journey. An early intimation of Edward's death, in a private letter from the Earl of Arundel[d], caused her to leave Hertfordshire with haste[e], and she betook herself to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

When the late king expired, great pains were taken to keep that event from the public, until those who were intriguing to change the regular order of succession had sufficiently matured their plans. After two days, however, the secret was allowed cautiously to transpire. Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor of London, then received an order to attend at Greenwich, accompanied by six of the aldermen, and twelve of the principal merchants. These leading citizens obeyed the summons without delay, and being arrived at the palace, they were acquainted with Edward's demise, and with his disposition of the crown[e]. An obligation to observe this arrangement was exacted from them upon oath; but at the same time they were pledged to secresy as to what they had heard and done[f]. On the same day was despatched to the English ambassador at Brussels, an account of his royal master's death; but in this communication nothing was said relating to the succession[g]. Charles, however, was aware that his cousin's pretensions to her father's throne might require some foreign aid, and accordingly, when the late King drew near his end, three Austrian agents arrived in England under colour of offering,

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 364. Sanders, 238.
[e] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 154. Godwin, Annal. 105.
[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 364.

to him their master's condolence [h]. The real object of these gentlemen being to secure the Lady Mary's succession, the French ambassador endeavoured to counteract it by private assurances that his court would come forward with assistance if foreigners should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of England [i].

On the day following Edward's decease, arrangements in furtherance of Northumberland's views were made at the Tower, and on Sunday, the ninth of July, the principal officers of state, together with the royal guard, solemnly swore allegiance to Jane, as Queen of England [k]. In the evening of that day [l] arrived a letter despatched from Kenninghall, in Mary's name, and addressed to the council. In this communication, the Princess asserts her pretensions to the crown under authority of Parliament, and her father's will, "and intimates that there were other circumstances advancing her right." She then gently reprimands the councillors for omitting to send her information of the late King's demise, acquaints them with her knowledge of their hostile preparations, but expresses herself willing to pardon what they had hitherto done, and concludes with desiring them to proclaim her Queen, without delay [m]. To this letter was immediately returned an

[h] Lingard, vii. 150. The authority for this statement is a collection of diplomatic papers in the library of Besançon.

[i] Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre, redigées par feu M. l'Abbé de Vertot. A Leyde, 1763, ii. 45. 50. 53.

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 4.

[l] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 157.

[m] Foxe, 1279.

answer[n] asserting Jane's title to the crown according to the "good order of old ancient good laws" of England, and according to King Edward's devise; Mary was then reminded that ecclesiastical authorities, universities, and acts of Parliament had treated her as illegitimate. Upon these accounts she was charged to cease from her opposition, and to conduct herself as a peaceable subject. Any farther attempt to conceal the young king's death was now neither feasible nor politic. It was, accordingly, determined, that, on the following day, Jane should make her public appearance, surrounded by the usual pomp of royalty.

The family of Grey had attained considerable importance in France before the Norman conquest. Its principal seat was the castle of Croy[o], in Picardy, and hence was derived its name. From this fortress, it is generally believed, an adventurer sallied forth to join the Conqueror's standard; a fortunate determination which procured for the hardy Picard's heirs

[n] Signed, Thomas Canterbury, the Marquess of Winchester, John Bedford, Wil. Northampton, Thom. Ely, Chancellor, Northumberland, Henry Suffolk, Henry Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntingdon, Darcy, Cheyney, R. Cotton, John Gates, W. Petre, W. Cecil, John Cheke, John Mason, Edward North, R. Bowes. Foxe, 1279.

[o] Probably pronounced Cray. A similar pronunciation of *oy* seems to have prevailed in other French words. *Reine* was anciently written *royne*. Nor was this mode of sounding the diphthong *ay* unknown to England. Croydon, in Surrey, was ordinarily called Cr*ay*don, Thoydon, and Roydon, in Essex, are yet known as Th*ay*don, and R*ay*don. In some ancient books also we read *poynter*, for *painter*.

an establishment at Rotherfield Grey, in Oxfordshire.[†] A descendant of this ancient house, John de Grey, Lord Ferrars of Groby, married Elizabeth Woodville, the celebrated beauty who subsequently mounted the throne as Queen to Edward IV. Thomas de Grey, Elizabeth's elder son by her first husband, was created Earl of Huntingdon, and Marquess of Dorset, successively. This nobleman's grandson, Henry Grey, married, as his second wife, the Lady Frances Brandon, elder daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, by the French Queen, younger sister of King Henry VIII. The Lady Jane, eldest daughter of this connexion[p], was born, it is believed, at Bradgate, in Leicestershire, a seat of her father's, about the year 1537[q]. Her education was chiefly conducted under the direction of John Aylmer, a Norfolk man of eminent learning and abilities, who, after being maintained by her father at the University, subsequently resided in his house as tutor to his children[r]. Jane's was no ordinary mind: hence she rapidly made a considerable progress in the various branches of learning to which, according to the fashion of her time, her attention was directed. Her attainments, indeed, as a linguist have been represented as such as are far from usual in professed scholars of ripe age, and such as can scarcely be

[p] See Hist. Ref. iii. 666.

[q] Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, by N. H. Nicolas, Esq. F.A.S. prefixed to her Literary Remains. Lond. 1825. p. xii.

[r] Strype, Life of Bp. Aylmer. (Oxf. 1821.) p. 2. Aylmer was advanced to the see of London in the year 1576. Ibid. 17.

attributed without palpable exaggeration to an individual who perished in early youth.[*] That, however, she was smitten by that love of literature which distinguishes so remarkably a few young persons from the great majority of their equals in age, appears undeniably from an anecdote preserved by the learned Roger Ascham. That scholar, visiting Bradgate, found its inmates generally engaged in hunting, in the park. But the Lady Jane remained at home, and was reading Plato's Phædon, in the original Greek, apparently with lively interest. Ascham greatly surprized by conduct so unusual at her time of life, enquired how she could make up her mind to forego the pleasures which her family and friends were enjoying in the park? The fair student replied with a smile: "I fancy, all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means!" From Aylmer, it may reasonably be supposed, the Lady Jane acquired that religious information which estranged her so effectually from Romanism. All her early prejudices were, indeed, happily arrayed against that hollow but seductive creed. She seems at one time to have been even unaware of the Romish superstition which retains consecrated wafers in places of worship, and assigns to them religious honours. When very young, being

[*] It is said that she was well versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, French, and Italian. Nicolas *ut supra*.

[*] Ascham's Schoolmaster, cited by Strype. Life of Bp. Aylmer, 3.

in Essex, at New Hall, a seat belonging to the Lady Mary, Jane was invited by Lady Wharton to accompany her in a walk. Passing by the chapel, Lady Wharton made a low courtesy towards the altar. "Is the Lady Mary there?" enquired Jane. "No," replied her conductress, "I pay this token of reverence to him who made us all." On understanding the drift of this answer, Jane rejoined: "How can he have made us all? why, the baker made him." This instance of acuteness, coming to the Lady Mary's ears, inspired her with a disgust for her youthful guest, which, it was thought, she never surmounted [u].

Since her marriage with Lord Guilford Dudley, the Lady Jane had usually resided with her husband's family at Sion House near Brentford [v]. When her royal kinsman however, drew very dear his end, she had obtained permission, with some difficulty, for a visit to Chelsea, and she was staying there, alarmed by the news recently communicated to her of her intended elevation, and half disbelieving it, when Edward expired. An order from the council conveyed to her with unusual gravity, by the Lady Sidney her husband's sister, now caused her sudden return to Sion. Soon after her arrival there, she received a visit from the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earls of Arun-

[u] Foxe, 1927.

[v] Nicholas, xxxv. The Duke of Northumberland had obtained from the crown a grant of this residence about two years before. Lady Jane Grey, and her Times: by George Howard, Esq. Lond. 1822. p. 221.

del, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. These noblemen assumed an unusual appearance of respect and kindness, in entering the room, but the conversation which arose, was merely remarkable from its over-strained courtesy towards Jane. After a short interval, the party was joined by the Duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Marchioness of Northampton. Northumberland now stepped forward, and formally, as president of the council, informed his daughter-in-law, that her royal cousin was no more, and that before his demise, being anxious to secure his realm from Papistry, he had excluded from the succession, in conformity with the spirit of a parliamentary act, his two illegitimate sisters, and settled the crown upon her. The noble party then knelt before Jane, acknowledged her, as their hereditary and lawful sovereign, and expressed their determination to spill their blood, if necessary, in defence of her right. With extreme difficulty had the youthful object of this most unwelcome, and but half-expected homage mastered her agitation during the progress of this trying scene, but its conclusion utterly unnerved her. She wept violently, and then fell senseless upon the floor. On her recovery she lamented bitterly her cousin's death, and expressed a conviction of her insufficiency to supply his place: but she added, turning her eyes to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour, and my country's benefit[w]."

[w] "Perciocchè poiche egli s'era publicamente detto chè non

v'era più speranza veruna della vita del Rè, si come la Duchessa di Nortumberland, havea già promesso, ch' io resterei in casa con mia madre, così, havendolo ella inteso poco dopo dall' marito, che fu 'l primo che lo mi dicesse, non volle più ch' io partisse di casa mia, dicendomi chè se Dio havesse voluto chiamare alla sua misericordia il Rè, dell' cui vita non v'era speranza veruna; era bisogno ch' io me n' andasse tosto in Torre, essend' io fatta da S. M. herede dell' istesso suo reame. Le quali parole essendomi dette così sprovvedutamente mi diedero in vero alterazione, e mi turbarono forte l'animo, come anche dopo molto più m' aggravarono. Ma io con tutto ciò, poca stima faccendo di quelle parole, non restai però d' andar da mia madre. Dimanierachè la Duchessa di Nortumberland s' adirò meco, e con la Duchessa, mia madre, dicendo chè s'ella si risolvera di tener me in casa, ancor ella haverebbe tenuto appresso di se il suo figliuolo, mio marito, à cui pensava ch' io sarei andata in ogni modo, ed ella me ne resterebbe disobligata. E in verità per due, ò tre notti io restai in casa sua, ma infine impetrai grazia d' andare a Celse per mio diporto, dove poco dopo essendomi ammalata, fui mandata à chiamare dal Consiglio, faccendomi egli intendere, chè quell' istessa notse io dovesse andare a Sion per ricever quello che dal Rè m' era stato ordinato. E colei che mi venne à portar questa nuova, fù la Signora Sedmei, mia cognata, e figliuola del Duca di Nortumberland, la quale mi dicea con gravità più chè ordinaria, ch' egli era necessario, ch' io andasse seco, come feci. Ma giunte chè fummo là, non vi trovammo veruno, ancorchè poco dopo vi giunsero il Duca di Nortumberland, il Marchese di Nortanton, il Conte d' Arondel, il Conte d' Untinton, é di Pembroch, i quali con carezze e piacevolezze insolite mi fecero riverenza tale, e allo stato mio non mica convenevole, inginocchiandomisi in terra, e in molte altre maniere faccendo sembiante di riverirmi. E riconoscendomi, como loro maggior signora, chè con infinita mia confusione mi facevano vergognare: in fine fecero venire, dove era io, la Duchessa Francesca, mia madre, la Duchessa di Nortumberland, e la Marchesana di Nortanton. Il Duca di Nortumberland, come Presidente del Consiglio, publicò la morte del Rè Edouardo, dipoi dimostrando quanta cagione noi havevamo tutti d' allegrarci per la vertuosa e lode-

vole vita, ch' egli havea menata, e per l' ottima morte ch' egli havea simigliantemente fatta. In oltre egli mostrava di confortare se medesimo, e i circostanti in lodando molto la prudenza e bontà sua, per l' ottima cura ch' egli havea hauta del suo reame nell' ultimo fine della sua vita, havendo pregato Iddio chè 'l diffendesse dalla fede Papistica, e liberasselo dal governo delle sue non buone sorelle. Disse dipoi chè S. Maes. havea ben' considerato un' atto di Parlamento, in cui fù già diliberato, chè chiunque volesse riconoscere la Serenissima Maria, cioè la Sereniss. M. V. ovvero la Signora Lisabetta, e accettarle per vere heredi della corona d' Inghilterra, questi cotali dovessero esser tenuti per traditori, essendo già stata una di loro disubbidiente à suo padre Arrigo Ottavo, e poi anche à lui stesso, intorno alla verità della religione, e poi anche nemici capitali della parola di Dio, e amendune bastarde. Ond' egli non volea in guisa veruna, ch' elle fossero sue heredi, e di quella corona; potendole in ogni maniera disredare. E però ordinò al Consiglio inanzi la morte sua, chè per l' onore che dovevano a lui, e per l' amore che portavano al reame, e per la carità, che alla patria si dee, dovessero a quell' ultima volontà sua ubbidire. Soggiugnendo poi il Duca ch' io era quell' herede nominata da S. M. per succeder nella corona, e chè le mie sorelle mi dovevano somigliantemente succedere in caso di mancamento del mio seme. Alle cui parole tutti i signori del Consiglio mi inginocchiarono, dicendomi, chè mi rendevano quell' onore che alla persona mia conveniva, per esser io della vera e diritta linea herede di quella corona, e chè à loro in ogni miglior maniera convenia d' osservar quello che eglino promesso avevano al Rè con animo diliberato, di spargere etiandio il sangue, sponendo le lor proprie vite alla morte. Le quali cose tosto chè con infinito dolore dell' animo mio hebbi intese, quanto io restasse fuor di me stordita e sbattuta, ne lascerò testimoniare a quei signori, i quali si trovarono presenti, che sopraggiunta da subita e non aspettata doglia mi videro in terra cadere, molto dolorasamente piangendo. E dichiarando poi loro l' insofficienza mia, forte mi rammaricai della morte d' un si nobile principe, e insieme mi rivolsi a Dio, humilmente pregandolo, e supplicandolo, chè se quello che m'era dato, era dirittamente e legittimamente mia; S. D. M. mi do-

The timid and reluctant victim * of another's head

nasse tanta grazia, e Spirito, ch' io il potesse governare a gloria sua, e servigio, e utile di questo reame.—Lettera della Signora Giana, già proclamata reina, scritta a S. M. nel mese d' Agosto, dell' anno 1553, mentrechè ella si ritrovava prigione in Torre; ovvero ragionamento fatto al popolo nel punto della morte, per iscusa dell' errore di cui ell' era imputata, che fù à dì' 12. di Febraio dell' anno 1554." (L'Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra, da F. Girolamo Pollini. Rom. 1594. p. 355.) The student of English history is much obliged to Pollini for the preservation of this interesting letter, which bears every mark of genuineness. In general, however, Pollini's compilation is worthless; being little else than an Italian version of the libels, follies, and inaccuracies, which Sanders strung together for the purpose of perpetuating Romish ignorance and bigotry.

In explanation of that part of Northumberland's address which attributes Edward's disherision of his sisters to a parliamentary act, it should be remembered, that the act pronouncing those ladies illegitimate had never been repealed. The king was advised, that, being thus statutably stigmatized, they were legally incapable of taking any possession by inheritance. It was, probably, represented also, that Henry's testamentary disposition in their favour was a plain breach of the constitution, and therefore could not hold good. The illegitimacy of the princesses, though formally pronounced in Parliament, could scarcely be considered merely as an arbitrary judgment of that assembly. Mere politicians were far from being the only persons who considered both of them spuriously born.

* In a letter written by Jane to her father, a short time before both of them were executed, she uses the following words: "Though I must needs acknowledge that being *constrained*, and as you know well enough, *continually assayed*, yet in taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is so much the less in that being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never interfered with my innocent heart." (Howard, 366.) "Her father-in-law did afterwards say

less ambition, was now conducted to Northumberland's town-residence, Durham House, in the Strand, and thence, in the afternoon of the same day, by water, to the Tower[y]. A splendid procession attended her to this ancient fortress, and the air resounded with artillery as she passed along[z]. No cheering shouts however, of popular exultation arose to lighten her anxiety, but the crowd gazed idly on the shew[a]. In the evening, Jane was proclaimed, with the usual formalities, in Cheapside, and Fleet-street; the people generally hearing this announcement with seeming indifference. A vintner's apprentice ventured, indeed, to say something in the Lady Mary's favour: an indiscretion which consigned him immediately to prison, and caused him, on the following morning, to lose both his ears in the pillory[b]. As Jane's title could not fail to occasion considerable discussion, a proclamation was immediately circulated explaining the grounds of her claim to the throne. This instrument recites,

in council, she was rather by enticement of the councillors, and force made to accept of the crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request." Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 366. "Adeo honoris delati neutiquam appetens, ut regia ornamenta sine gemitu et lachrymis non susceperit, et cunctis palam et manifestum foret a parentibus et amicis plane invitam coactam esse ut id fastigii conscenderet." Godwin, Annal. 105. "Sforzatamente lasciò gridarsi Reina." Pallavicino, Istoria del Concilio di Trento. Rom. 1657. II. 28.

[y] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 159.

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. III. 4.

[a] Godwin, Annal. 106.

[b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. III. 5.

that the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, having been pronounced illegitimate by legislative and ecclesiastical authority, were incapable of inheriting from any person whatsoever: that they were besides, so incapable from the late king, as being related to him by the half-blood only; that if allowed to mount the throne, they might marry foreigners who would be likely to introduce Popery, and overthrow the liberties of England; and that these considerations had moved the deceased sovereign, under the advice of his nobles, councillors, judges, and other persons of weight to settle the crown upon the Duchess of Suffolk's posterity [c]. On the second day of Jane's unhappy abode in the Tower, a letter was addressed in her name, to the Marquess of Northampton, continuing him in the lieutenancy of certain counties; announcing the provisions of King Edward's will; and enjoining that strenuous preparations be made for resisting the claims of the Lady Mary, "bastard daughter to King Henry the Eighth [d]." A similar communication was probably made to other Lord Lieutenants. In order to secure the Emperor, Mr. Richard Shelley was sent to his court with dispatches dated from the Tower, on the 12th of July, and addressed to the English embassy [e]. There was, indeed, some reason to believe that if Jane could have maintained her pretensions at home, opposition was not to be anticipated from Austria. For when Ed-

[c] Nicolas, xlvi. from the Lansdowne MSS.

[d] From the original among the muniments at Losely House. Ellis's Letters, II. 183.

[e] Nicolas, lxv.

ward's death was notified to him, Charles merely expressed his respect for the young Prince's memory, and his desire to maintain friendly relations with England. About the imperial court there were even those, on the first news from our island, who spoke of the Lord Guilford Dudley as "his Majesty," admitting that the illegitimacy of the two English Princesses was a question with which foreigners had no concern[g]. When, however, Shelley arrived, Charles was apprised of movements in favour of the Lady Mary. He therefore declined the giving of an audience to that gentleman as not knowing the character which he was to maintain at his court. He also expressed himself displeased that Edward had treated Mary as illegitimate, and had altered the order of succession as settled by King Henry. He observed that if the English princesses were disqualified from inheriting by the circumstances of their birth, the Queen of Scotland's claim was preferable to the Lady Jane's. The differences between her and the Lady Mary ought to be decided, he said, in Parliament, and not by violence; and he suggested that his cousin might be married to an English peer as a means of allaying apprehensions of a change in the national politics, or religion. An intimation was soon afterwards conveyed to the English embassy that his Imperial Majesty could only receive in future such agents from

[f] Communication from the English embassy to the Lords of the Council, dated July 17. Ibid. lx.

[g] The Commissioners at Brussels to the Council, dated July 15. Ibid. lxv.

England as came with credentials from Queen Mary [h].

Jane had, indeed, no sooner assumed the port of royalty, than domestic miseries [i] and political difficulties embittered every passing hour. It was clear, that without an arduous struggle, her occupation of the throne would quickly terminate in the ruin of all who might remain steadfast in her cause. In the metropolis apathy, if not hostility, towards her attempt appeared generally prevalent. In fact, she seems personally to have been scarcely considered. Her assumption was merely viewed as a fresh instance of Northumberland's unprincipled ambition. Against that aspiring peer popular prejudice had reached its height. He lay under the imputation of having persuaded Somerset to take the Lord Admiral's life; of having afterwards persuaded Edward to sacrifice the Duke; and, as the consummation of his villainy, of poisoning the young king himself [k]. Of such a man, it was unhesitatingly

[h] Nicolas, lxvi.

[i] The Lord Guilford Dudley insisted upon being crowned with his wife. Jane refused this. She would make him a duke, she said, but she could not consent to his assumption of royalty. Both Guilford and his mother were so violently enraged by this answer that the former immediately ceased to sleep with his unhappy wife The Lady Jane to Queen Mary. Pollini, *ubi. sup.*

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 370. "Il est bien a craindre que le Duc (Northumberland) puisse achever son entrepriuse sans beaucoup de travail et de peril, *tant pour la hayne que le peuple et beaucoup de la noblesse portent a lui et aux siens*, que pour l'amictié qu'ilz ont a la dicte Dame Marie." (Noailles, ii. 73.)

surmised, that the real object could be no other than to decorate his daughter-in-law with the mere shew of royalty, until every thing was ripe for thrusting her aside, and for his own usurpation of the diadem. Undismayed, however, by the prospect which lay before him, Northumberland steadily pursued his course. Sir Francis Inglefield, and other partizans of Mary, were placed under personal restraint[l]. Military preparations were made with despatch and vigour for overthrowing in the field any attempt in favour of that Princess. In deciding upon a commander to act against her considerable difficulty was experienced. Northumberland, aware that his authority in London hung upon a thread, would fain have remained there, and have despatched the Duke of Suffolk into the eastern counties. But Jane earnestly implored that her father should not be sent away from her at such an anxious time, and exposed to the hazards of a campaign. These entreaties being backed by some of the council, who secretly desired to be relieved from Northumberland's presence[m], and being rendered effective by Suffolk's known unfitness for the command under consideration, at length induced the ambitious father-in-law

"'*Vous asseurant, Sire, qui toutes ces choses sont advenues plus pour la grande hayne que que l'on porte a icelluy Duc*, qui a voulu tenir un chacun en craincte, que pour l'amictié que l'on a à la dicte Royne." Ibid. 80.

[l] Sanders, 240. Sanders's Spanish imitator, the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, is pleased to say that Inglefield and *many* others were imprisoned. "*Fue encarcelado con otros muchos.*" Hist. Eccl. del Scisma de Inglaterra. Madrid, 1588, p. 202.

[m] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 159.

to determine upon leaving the seat of government. On Friday, the 14th of the month, he took his departure at the head of about eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse. A great throng was attracted into the streets to view this armament in its passage out of town, but Northumberland observed with grief and apprehension, that mere curiosity had drawn the spectators from their homes. Having reached Shoreditch, he despondingly remarked, "[n] The people press to us, but not one of them saith God speed you." Two days after the Duke's departure, a circular letter, in Jane's name, was addressed to the sheriffs, magistracy, and gentry, of Surrey, exhorting them to make a stand against Mary's pretensions, in deference to the late King's wishes [o], and for the sake of guarding the realm against foreigners and Papists. On the following day was despatched from the Tower another letter, in which Sir John Bridges, and Sir Nicholas Poyntz were enjoined to muster their dependants, and to repair with all haste towards Buckinghamshire for the purpose of serving there under the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke; two peers who then professed their intentions of

[n] Nicolas, lxix.

[o] "A great number of the same nobility, councillors, and judges can truly testify to all the world, with safety of their conscience, how carefully and earnestly the late King of famous memory, our dear cousin, Edward the Sixth, from time to time mentioned and provoked them partly by persuasion, partly commandments, to have such respect to his succession, if God should call him to his mercy without issue, as might be the preservation of the crown in the whole undefiled English blood." Ellis's Letter from the Muniments at Loseley House. II. 187.

suppressing a movement which had arisen in that county [p]. Other attempts, far less justifiable, in Jane's favour, were made by means of the pulpit. It is stated that Northumberland engaged many of the London clergy to preach against Mary's claim [q]. Certainly Bishop Ridley ventured upon that unseemly employment, by the council's order, at St. Paul's Cross, on Sunday the 9th [r]. He dwelt upon the strong probability that Popery would be restored, should the Lady Mary be permitted to mount the throne, and he related what happened to himself when he endeavoured to touch her mind with a conviction of unquestionable religious truth [s]. On the following Sunday, Mr. Rogers, a learned divine of scriptural principles, and eventually a martyr, preached at the Cross, but his discourse was little more than an exposition of the gospel of the day [t].

Mary wrote, on the 12th of July, to the mayor of Norwich, requiring him to proclaim her queen. A refusal was returned, upon the ground that no certain intelligence of Edward's death had hitherto arrived. That fact, however, being ascertained

[p] Nicolas, lvii. from the Harleian MSS.

[q] Godwin, Annal. 106.

[r] "Utinam vir optimus hac in re lapsus non fuisset." Ibid.

[s] Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 629.

[t] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 7. "I preached, quoth I, a sermon at the Cross, after the Queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the Queen: I take witness of the audience, which was not small. I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon." Rogers's account of his examination before the Chancellor Gardiner, in January, 1555. Foxe, 1351.

shortly afterwards, Mary's requisition was not only obeyed on the following day, but also men and ammunition were despatched to her from Norwich. A backwardness observable in the people of Norfolk, had caused her to remove in haste to Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk, a place of some security, and, from its nearness to the sea, offering facilities for communication with her friends abroad[u]. In this fortress Mary, being surrounded by the Earl of Sussex, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir John Sulyard, and other persons of some consideration[v], assumed openly the royal style and authority. Letters were written in her name to some of the nobility, commanding them, upon their allegiance, to lend her immediate aid[w], and a kind of proclamation was issued, briefly announcing Edward's death, her own accession, her actual residence in England, and her intention to remain there[x]. Her

[u] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 161.

[v] The History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk: by John Gage, Esq. F.S.A. Lond. 1822, p. 131.

[w] Heylin, *ut supra.*

[x] Mr. Butler (Book of the R. C. Church, 214,) having adverted to this proclamation as a proof that Queen Mary made no promise upon the subject of religion to the people of Suffolk, the following copy of this document is subjoined, extracted from Mr. Gage's Hengrave, p. 143.

"Marie the Quene,

"Knowe ye all the good subjects of this realme that y^r^ most noble Prince, yor Soveraine Lord and King, Edward the vi^th^, ys upon Thursday last, being the vi^th^ of July, depted this worlde to Godes mercie. And that now the most excellent princes, his sister Marie, by the grace of God ys Quene of E. and Y. and

prospects brightened rapidly. Northumberland was even more than ordinarily hateful in Norfolk and Suffolk, from a recollection of the severity with which he had crushed Kett's rebellion; all persons of Romish principles could not fail of wishing well to Mary's cause; and of those who loved the Reformation (a very numerous body in the eastern counties) many held it alien from their profession to resist lawful authority. The loyalty of such conscientious Christians was, indeed, fortified, it is said, by some promise, or allowed understanding, on the Queen's part, that under her government they would not be molested in the exercise of their religion[y]. While

all things thereunto belonging, to God's glory, the honor of the royalme of England, and all yor cofortes. And her Highness ys not fled thys her royalme, ne intendeth to do, as is most untruly surmised."

This notification, for it is really nothing else, must have been put forth before Thursday, July 13. Mary, consequently, had not yet been proclaimed at Norwich, and in fact she had no known supporters, except a few persons of property about her person. The time, therefore, was not come, for any public enquiry as to her intended religious policy.

[y] "To whom (Mary) first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her brother Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf. To make the matter short, unto this condition she eftsoons agreed, with such promise made unto them, that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her." (Foxe, 1279.) Upon this authority, probably, Heylin, Burnet, Speed, and other historians have asserted that

Mary's affairs wore yet a dubious aspect, six vessels, equipped for the purpose of cruising off the coast, with a view to prevent her flight, or to intercept any forces coming to her aid from Flanders, were driven by stress of weather into the harbour of Yarmouth. In that town Sir Henry Jerningham was then raising recruits for Mary's service, and turning his attention to the hostile squadron, by threats and persuasions he induced the crews to declare against the Lady Jane[z]. Meanwhile, troops from every side ranged themselves under Mary's banner, and within a few days fourteen thousand men had assembled in arms to await her orders[a].

In the hope of promptly crushing this formidable mass of hostility, Northumberland advanced from Cambridge into Suffolk. Popular opinion, however, he found decidedly against him, and even his own ranks were alarmingly thinned by desertion[b]. At Bury, becoming apprehensive of his incapacity to face Mary's partizans, he resolved to fall back upon Cambridge. Thence he wrote urgently to the

Queen Mary pledged herself to the people of Suffolk that she would not innovate upon her brother's ecclesiastical system. This, however, appears to be going too far. A petition for religious toleration eventually was presented from Suffolk; but the Queen is not reminded in it of any promise broken. Still, it is likely, both from corroborative contemporary evidence, and from one of Mary's known declarations made soon afterwards, that she gave some private assurance or understanding as to her intention of protecting the Reformers in their religious profession.

[z] Godwin, Annal. 107.

[a] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 185.

[b] Godwin, Annal. 107.

Council for effective reinforcements. His situation had, indeed, become highly critical. In Buckinghamshire, Sir Edward Hastings asserted the claim of Mary, at the head of a very numerous assemblage, rendering it far from improbable that the Duke's communication with London would soon be intercepted[c]. In the metropolis so many indications of a falling cause quickly took full effect upon all who were intent upon their own interest or security, or upon the restoration of Romanism. The councillors, however, were congregated in the Tower, and Suffolk had been instructed to detain them there. Under this embarrassment, those among them who were meditating a change of sides, affected a great anxiety to support Northumberland. But their intentions, it was urged, could not be carried into execution, unless an opportunity were allowed them of consulting with the Lord Mayor and aldermen. For this purpose, and for that of despatching some foreign business, it was represented as advisable that certain members of the council should leave the Tower. Overcome by these pretences, Suffolk consented that the business under consideration should be transacted at Castle Baynard, a mansion in the heart of the city, occupied by the Earl of Pembroke. One of Lady Jane Grey's sisters was married to that nobleman's son, and hence it was naturally concluded that confidence might be reposed in the father. In the morning of the day[d] devoted to the meeting at Castle Baynard, a letter was despatched from the

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 372.

[d] July 19.

council to Lord Rich, in answer to one from him announcing the Earl of Oxford's defection to Mary. This required him to continue firm in his allegiance to Jane: a course to which the subscribers pledged themselves[e]. The dissembling councillors, finding themselves together under Pembroke's roof, the Earl of Arundel, who had been needlessly forward in expressions of devotion to Jane's cause[f], assumed the politic but disreputable part of spokesman. He burst out into a violent invective against Northumberland, imputing to him every error of the late reign, and painting with all the strength of party-colouring his inordinate ambition. In conclusion, the noble orator strenuously advised an immediate offer of allegiance to Mary; adding, that religious considerations needed to cool no man's ardour in her

[e] "Requiring your Lp. nevertheless like a noble man to remain in that promise and steadfastness to our sovereign Lady Queen Jane's service, *as ye shall find us ready and firm with all our force to the same.* Which neither with honour, nor with safety, nor yet with duty we may now forsake. From the Tower of London, the 19th of July, 1553.

Your L. assured loving friends,

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. W. Petre, S.
J. Sufiolk, Jo. Baker,
Pembroke, J. Bedford,
William Paget, F. Shrewsbury,
Winchester, Richard Cotton,
Arundel, Jo. Cheke,
T. Darcy, Robert Bowes."
T. Cheyne.

Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 913.

[f] Nicolas, lxix.

cause, as she was reported to have spoken upon that subject, with the greatest moderation to the people of Suffolk[g]. Pembroke then arose, grasped the hilt of his sword, uttered a cordial assent to Arundel's harangue, and professed his readiness to jeopardy his life in Mary's quarrel. A like enthusiasm being shewn by all present, the Lord Mayor and aldermen were sent for, and informed of the determination to which the councillors had come. Of this the citizens having approved, all the party went in procession to Cheapside Cross, where, between five and six in the afternoon queen Mary was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and amidst the loudest acclamations. They then proceeded to St. Paul's cathedral, through the lofty vaults of which *te Deum* immediately pealed in all the charms of choral harmony. As the night closed in the merry bells resounded, bonfires blazed, wine and ale were distributed to those who walked about the streets, and money was profusely scattered among the happy groupes[h].

[g] "Cuinam quæso compertum est, ait, Mariam in rebus ad religionem spectantibus quicquam mutaturam? Certe Soffolciensium nonnullis hac de re nuperrime eam interpellantibus, (et verum id fuit,) æquissime dicitur respondisse." (Godwin, Annal. 108.) According to Heylin, Arundel said, "How doth it appear that the Princess Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned to in this point, by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer." Hist. Ref. 163.

[h] Godwin, ut supra. Queen Mary "was proclaimed by four trumpeters and three heralds of arms. There were present the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, also the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the

After leaving St. Paul's, the councillors despatched a messenger to Suffolk requiring his concurrence in their present determination. The Duke attempted not to stem the tide, but entering his daughter's apartment he informed her of the revolution which had just occurred, and he exhorted her to descend with equanimity to a private station. Without any appearance of emotion, Jane replied: "This change in my condition, father, is far more acceptable to me than that of which you recently informed me. In obedience to my mother and yourself, I then did violence to my inclinations, and I have thereby committed a very serious offence. But the present act is my own. I willingly resign the royal state; and I shall, indeed, be happy if mere abdication, and an admission of my fault shall be considered as an atonement for my mistaken compliance." She then retired into another room oppressed with apprehensions for her future safety[1].

Mary was formally apprised of the recent transactions in London by the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget. A letter, of which these noblemen were the bearers, assured the Queen that the councillors who had caused her to be proclaimed were ever true to her in their hearts, and had only assumed an appearance of hostility to her cause, in order to pre-

Cinque Ports, Sir John Mason, the Lord Mayor, and divers other noblemen." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 21.) Extract from a contemporary letter among the Harleian MSS. printed in Mr. Howard's Lady Jane Grey.

[1] Godwin, ut supra.

vent the destruction of themselves and others[k]. Mary's title being no longer disputed in the metropolis by any party, the council, generally, met at Westminster, and thence wrote to Northumberland, enjoining him to disband his troops, and to remain at a distance from London until her Majesty's pleasure should be known[l]. The herald who conveyed this communication was also charged to declare in all places upon the road, that if the Duke should not immediately submit, he was to be treated as a traitor, and that, "the late King's council would persecute him to his utter confusion[m]." Northumberland, however, having received private advices from London, had previously to the herald's arrival in Cambridge[n] resolved upon abandoning his hopeless enterprise. He even went into the market-place to hear Queen Mary proclaimed, and that ceremony being concluded, he threw his cap into the air in token of exultation. But he had sinned past all forgiveness. On the following morning the earl of Arundel arrested him by Mary's orders[o], and on

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. Append. 915. To this letter, which is printed from a copy of the original, no signatures are appended.

[l] This letter was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of Winchester, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, the Secretaries Petre and Cecil, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir John Baker, Sir John Mason, and Sir Robert Bowes. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 434.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Godwin, Annal. 108.

[o] Ibid.

the 25th of July, he was sent to the Tower together with several of his family and confederates [p].

The Queen remained in Suffolk until near the end of July, when she removed to Wanstead, in the vicinity of London. At this place, the lady Elizabeth, attended by a splendid cavalcade, paid her a congratulatory visit. On the third of August, the royal sisters entered London on horseback, in a style of great magnificence, and according to ancient usage Mary proceeded to the Tower. On arriving within the walls of this venerable fortress, she observed upon their knees the old duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son of the attainted Marquess of Exeter [q], the widowed Duchess of Somerset, and the deprived Bishop of Winchester. In their joint names Gardiner congratulated the new Sovereign upon her accession, praying that her reign might be long and happy. Mary, raising and saluting the suppliants, courteously said, "These are my prisoners." Orders were immediately given for their release, and Courtenay was restored, on the next day, to his father's title. The following day saw the Bishops Boner and Tunstall at liberty again. Nor were Heath and Day much longer under restraint [r]. All these prelates were after no long interval, by means of summary processes, reinstated in their former sees [s], and thus Romanism soon acquired once more its ascendancy upon the episcopal bench.

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. II. 374.

[q] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. Vol. II. 338. 359.

[r] Godwin, Annal. 110.

[s] Ridley had been recently translated to the see of Durham, but

During the agitation which followed King Ed-

he had never taken possession of it. His claim upon it was soon after annulled upon the grounds of his heresy and sedition. Worcester was holden *in commendam* with Gloucester, and was, besides, conferred upon Bishop Hooper, during pleasure. Winchester and Chichester were holden upon the same terms, and were also filled by bishops, whose consecration might be disputed, as having not been solemnized according to the Romish Canons. Bishop Boner's formal restoration to the see of London followed upon a representation which he made to the Queen that his deprivation had been effected in a manner contrary to law and justice. In consequence, a commission was addressed to John Tregonnel and William Roper, Esquires, Geoffrey Glynn, William Cooke, and Henry Cole, Doctors of Law, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Derby, and Shrewsbury, Sir Richard and Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Edward Carne, and Sir Richard Read, empowering them to hear and decide the question. "By the way, these commissioners were most of them laymen, and any two empowered to give sentence." (Collier, ii. 344.) By virtue of this commission, judgment was given, on the 5th of September, that the sentence against Boner was null. In the following strain of vulgar levity did that unworthy prelate give vent to his exultation on the next day, in a letter addressed to his cousin Shirley, and to two other gentlemen. "In most hearty wise, I commend me unto you, asserting that yesterday I was by sentence restored again to my bishopric, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed: so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerley, and Bushley at your pleasure; not suffering sheep's head or ship's side (alluding to Ridley's brother, Shipside, whom that prelate had appointed keeper of his park,) to be any meddler there, or to bring any thing from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the Parliament, I shall so handle the said sheep's heads, and other calves' heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day it is looked

ward's death, the care of his funeral appears to have been overlooked. At length, on the eighth of August, the royal corpse was removed to Westminster, and on the following day [t], amidst a striking demonstration of popular grief, a small company of mourners attended it to its last resting-place in the Abbey-church [u]. Upon this occasion a sermon was delivered by Bishop Day; who made excuses for the deceased monarch, but severely blamed his advisers, and eulogised in glowing colours the reigning Queen [v]. With the Burial Office was joined the holy Communion; and the whole service was that prescribed in the book of Common Prayer [w]. Meanwhile the

that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where it is meet for him. He is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that will not serve. In the same predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the Dean of St. Paul's, with others. Commend me to your bedfellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for. This bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haste this 6th of September.

"Assuredly all your own,

"Edmond London."

Life of Bp. Ridley, 429. Wharton's Observations upon Strype's Cranmer, 1056.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 140.

[u] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 31. Noailles, ii. 108.

[v] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 381.

[w] Upon this subject, historians are unanimous, and in fact it was illegal to use any other than the English service. The principal officiating minister in this solemnity cannot be certainly named. Bp. Godwin says that Day officiated as well as preached. (Annal. 110.) Heylin is silent as to the individual who

Queen evinced a decent anxiety to relieve her brother's immortal part from some portion of those purgatorial miseries to which, according to her creed, it was then consigned. In the afternoon, accordingly, of the day devoted to his interment she attended a *dirge* chanted for his benefit within the Tower. In the following morning a mass of *Requiem* solemnized for the same purpose was graced by her presence, and by that of a very numerous congregation[x].

Encouraged, probably, by this example, an aged ecclesiastic, on the succeeding day[y] ventured to say mass in the church of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield; greatly to the scandal and indignation of those who heard him; and he was accordingly very roughly treated when the service was over[z]. A violent de-

ministered upon this occasion. Burnet and Strype, (*ut supra.*) assert that Cranmer officiated.

[x] Heylin, *ut supra.* Noailles, ii. 109. Sanders appears to have considered this act of Mary's as an oversight, because "according to human judgment, Edward died without the Church." Afterwards, however, it seems, her Majesty was better instructed ("*melius postea instituta,*") and therefore, though "grieving much," she would not allow any public prayers to be offered up for her father, King Henry. This charitable determination, we are told, was "according to the rule of piety and religion." *Secundum regulam pietatis et religionis passa est regi.* (De Schism. 248.) Her advisers in this matter were, in Ribadeneyra's words, "holy and wise men," *tomando el consejo de varones santos y savios.* Hist. Eccl. de Ingl. 209.

[y] Aug. 11.

[z] From a contemporary letter in the British Museum cited by Howard, 302. This officious priest was soon after arrested, at the Lord Mayor's urgent instances, which her Majesty heard with

gree of uneasiness upon the subject of religion was, indeed, beginning to pervade the public mind. Hence the Queen judged it prudent to make a declaration to the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London, announcing that her intentions were tolerant. On the 12th of August she thus addressed these magistrates. "Albeit my conscience is staid in matter of religion, yet I mean not to compel or strain the consciences of other men, otherwise than God shall, as I trust, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth in which I am myself; through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers [a]." One of the preachers intended by this designation made an experiment on the following day [b], at St. Paul's Cross. This was Gilbert Bourn, prebendary of St. Paul's, and rector of High Ongar, in Essex, a divine who was advanced soon afterwards to the bishopric of Bath and Wells [c]. The corporation of London, and some of the nobility attended at the Cross, upon this occasion; as did

undissembled rage. She consented, however, to this act of severity, merely to blind the Londoners; who abhorred the mass: and the old priest was quickly permitted to make his escape from prison. Noailles, ii. 110.

[a] Proceedings of Privy Council, 50.

[b] Aug. 13.

[c] Bourn was consecrated to that see, on the 1st of April, 1554. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign he was appointed President of Wales. Under Queen Elizabeth he was deprived, and he died at Silverton, in Devonshire, in 1569. Godwin de Præsul. 388. Le Neve, 34.

also Bishop Boner, to whom Bourn was chaplain [d]. Having taken as his text the passage upon which Boner had discoursed in the same place, four years previously, the preacher, reminding his auditory of this, warmly panegyrised that prelate, adverted to the hardships which he had recently undergone, and attacked severely the policy of King Edward [e]. As this indiscreet harangue proceeded, murmurs arose among the congregation, women and boys became violently excited, and even some clergymen, who were present, encouraged the general feeling of disgust. At length, caps were thrown into the air, stones were levelled at the preacher, and some fiery zealot, probably an apprentice lad, completed the disgrace of his own party by hurling a dagger at the man who had justly given so much offence. Bourn stooping avoided the deadly weapon, and his brother then besought Mr. Bradford, an eminent preacher of scriptural principles, to appease, if possible, the people's fury. The call being readily obeyed, a mild rebuke from the lips of one well known, and deservedly respected, soon quelled the spirit of outrage. The obnoxious preacher was then conducted between Bradford, and Rogers, another clergyman averse from Popery, into St. Paul's school; where he remained until the crowd had dispersed [f]. Before

[d] Foxe, 1281. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 32. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 382.

[e] Foxe, ut supra. Godwin, Annal. 110.

[f] Foxe, *ut supra*. It seems to have been thought that some hot-headed apprentice hurled the dagger at Bourn, for it was

night, in consequence of this unhappy tumult, orders from the council were given to the lord mayor and aldermen, to call a meeting of the common council on the following day. The assembled citizens were then to be acquainted with that declaration of tolerance which her Majesty had uttered to the mayor and recorder, two days before. Heads of families also were to be informed that they must stand responsible for the conduct of their dependents, who were to be kept in habits of strict industry on ordinary days, and who were to attend their particular parish-churches on holidays. The civic authorities were likewise to forbid the clergy in their respective wards either to preach, or to expound publicly the scripture [g], unless they should have the royal license for such purpose. A particular injunction was then given as to preserving the public peace at night, and search was ordered to be made for some who had been active in the recent outrage [h]. In consequence, some apprehensions took place, and two of the prisoners, one of whom was rector of St. Ethelburga's, the other a barber, were pilloried and lost their ears, in the course of a few days [i]. On the Sunday following that in which Bourn's discourse had agitated the metropolis, another conspicuous attack upon the Reformation was made at

ordered in the following week, that no apprentice should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife, or dagger. Ibid. 1331.

[g] "Make any open or solemn reading of the Scripture."

[h] Proceedings of Privy Council, 50.

[i] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 34. The person who hurled the dagger at Bourn was not discovered.

St. Paul's cross. The lord mayor and aldermen, some of the nobility, and the principal city companies were present. Dr. Watson, chaplain to Bishop Gardiner, preached, and in urging topics likely to inflame the public mind, he did not yield to Bourn[k]. But he could utter his invectives unapprehensive of any danger; for while he thus aspersed the religion of holy Scripture, the policy pursued under an amiable young prince, yet scarcely cold in his grave, and laws remaining in force, two hundred of the royal guard stood around the pulpit. Mary seems, indeed, quickly to have discovered that she might safely follow the impulses of her own gloomy fanaticism, and therefore to have determined that Englishmen should be compelled to relinquish a religion founded not upon popes, and councils under their influence, but upon apostles and evangelists according to their own recorded declarations. As a preparation for this line of policy the magistrates of London were ordered, on the 14th of August, to lay before the council, within two days, a plan for keeping the city in tranquillity; and were informed, that if no such plan were then brought forward, the lord mayor must deliver up his sword into the Queen's hands[l]. Before the week expired a royal proclamation[m] unblushingly retracted the promise of toleration which Mary had made to the lord mayor and recorder within a few days, and

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 33.

[l] Proceedings of Privy Council, 51.

[m] Issued on the 18th of August. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 193.

which these functionaries had subsequently been ordered to lay before the common-council. In this document her Majesty begins by observing, that much inconvenience had arisen in times past from religious dissensions, and that such mischiefs had recently revived "through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some evil-disposed persons." She then proceeds to say, that "being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, she cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto. Which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself, by God's grace, during her time, so doth her Highness much desire, and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably entertained. And yet she doth signify unto all her Majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highness mindeth not to compel any of her said subjects thereunto *until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein.*" Of these words the plain import is, that the Queen was anxious to rule over a Romish people, but that she did not mean to force a renunciation of the reformed faith upon any of her subjects so long as the law should refuse her the requisite authority. Her intention was to defer the business of compulsory conversion until an obsequious Parliament should arm her with the powers upon which she calculated. The proclamation then forbids people "to move

seditions, or stir unquietness, by interpreting the laws after their brains and fancies;" and enjoins them "to continue quietly for the time, till (as before is said) further order could be taken." The use of irritating appellations, as Papist, Heretic, is also interdicted, and all persons are advised "to apply their whole care, study, and travel, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express the great hunger and thirst of God's glory, *which by rash talk and words many have pretended:* and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof, as her Highness shall be most glad, so if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder, or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highness's laws." The proclamation concludes by prohibiting all persons to preach, or to expound the Scriptures, or to print any thing in verse or prose, or to play any dramatic piece, without the Queen's especial permission in writing. In thus undertaking to regulate the pulpit, undoubtedly Mary exercised an act of her legal supremacy according to precedents in the two last reigns. But her interference happened to be more at variance with Romish principles than that recently seen under King Edward. The Archbishop of Canterbury was then empowered to license preachers as well as the King. Now,

however, laical authority alone stepped forward to prescribe the doctrines which the clergy should publicly dispense. This act of Mary's, as constitutional head of the Church within her dominions, appears to have been followed by results far from unsatisfactory to herself and her advisers. The Reformers could scarcely doubt, that her Majesty had them in her eye when she talked of "*pretenders* to a hunger and thirst after God's glory." They were, therefore, little likely to importune her for permission to unseal their lips in the pulpit. On the other hand, Romanists felt themselves encouraged not only to spread their peculiar doctrines with unwonted diligence, but also to indulge their "brains and fancies," in interpreting the laws in force against the mass, as a permission for the immediate revival of that service. Accordingly, before the expiration of many days, the Romish ritual was introduced again into a very large proportion of the churches[n]; and clergymen who were backward in this illegal innovation soon found themselves exposed to the displeasure of their superiors.

On the 18th of August the Duke of Northumberland, his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquess of Northampton, were brought to trial. Upon this occasion the old Duke of Norfolk again appeared in public, having been appointed to act as High Steward[o]. On Northumberland's approach

[n] Extract from a contemporary letter in the British Museum. Lady Jane Grey, and her Times, 306.

[o] It was now alleged by the Duke of Norfolk, that the act of attainder against him was invalid; and the judges, after hearing

to the bar, after making a profound obeisance, he professed his loyalty to the Queen, and acknowledged that he had offended her grievously. "I mean not, therefore," he added, "to say any thing in my defence; but I would fain learn the judgment of the court upon two points. First, I would enquire, whether a man doing an act by authority of the prince and council, and under warrant of the great seal of England, is liable to a charge of treason; he having done nothing without such warrant? Secondly, whether those who were equally culpable with himself, and who prescribed by letters and commandments all that he did, could sit in judgment upon him?" To these questions it was replied, that the great seal mentioned by the prisoner could legalise no act, because it was merely the instrument of an usurper; and that as no attainder had disqualified any member of the court, every one of them was perfectly competent to discharge the duty now laid upon him. His objections being thus overruled, the Duke briefly expressed his concern for the part which he had taken, intreated Norfolk to supplicate for the royal mercy in his behalf, and then

the case, decided that question affirmatively. "This had never been mentioned all the last reign, lest an act should have been procured to confirm his attainder. So he came now in upon his former right; by which all the grants that had been given of his estate were to be declared void by common law." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 379.) In the next Parliament a private act was passed, to make void the Duke of Norfolk's attainder. (Ibid. 401.) The Duke obtained also from the Queen, as an additional security, a general pardon. Lingard, note D. vii. 495.

pleaded guilty. Sentence to die as a traitor being immediately passed upon him, Northumberland begged that he might be executed, according to his quality, by decapitation; that his children might be favourably treated, in consideration of their age; that he might be permitted to confer with some learned divine, for the settling of his conscience; and that her Majesty would send to him four of her council, in order to hear at his lips certain secrets of state. The Marquess of Northampton pleaded, that at the beginning of recent events he did not take any part in public business, but occupied himself in rural sports. As, however, he could not deny his subsequent co-operation with the former prisoner, he received also sentence of death. The Earl of Warwick finding that his youth would not be considered as any excuse for his acts, merely begged that some portion of his effects might be applied to the payment of his creditors, and then heard the fatal sentence with unshaken resolution [p]. On the following day, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Andrew Dudley, were arraigned before a jury of commoners, and pleading guilty, received sentence of death [q].

Well aware of Bishop Gardiner's influence with the Queen, Northumberland, after condemnation, expressed himself anxious for an interview with him. That prelate, in consequence, accompanied by ano-

[p] From a book of the Lord Stewards of England, in the British Museum. Howard, 315.

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 379.

ther member of the council[r], paid a visit to the dejected prisoner, who thus gave vent to his anguish: "Is there no hope at all for me that I may live awhile, to do some penance for my sins past? Alas! let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner then said, "I wish to God, that when your Grace was at liberty, and in prosperity, something short of a kingdom could have contented you; and at present, I wish that it were in my power to give you the mouse-hole which you desire. I would give you the best palace that I have; and I shall now gladly serve you to the utmost of my ability. Your offence, however, is great, and your enemies numerous. I pray you, therefore, provide for the worst. Especially consider whether you stand well with God as to your conscience and religion. For, to speak plainly, it is most likely that you must die." The Duke replied: "I will do my best to dispose myself, and therefore, pray let me have a learned priest who may comfort me, and to whom I may confess. As for religion, you know, my Lord Bishop, that I can be of none other but of your own. Indeed, I never was of any other. I never was so foolish as to believe any of the religion which was set up in King Edward's time. I only took it up for my own ambitious purposes: a sin which I hope that God will forgive. At my death, I shall testify publicly what I now tell your Lordship, as I am bound to do, for it is the truth."

[r] "Who himself told my author these passages." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 452.

Gardiner was affected even to tears by this conversation, and there is reason to believe that he did not omit an application to the Queen in the prisoner's favour. But Mary was admonished from the imperial court that she could not safely spare an offender like Northumberland. She did not, however, annihilate at once his eager hope of life by announcing the day of his execution. The care of his religious comfort and instruction was assigned to Bishop Heath; and that amiable prelate, being aided probably by the prisoner's own anxiety to gratify the Queen, quickly brought his mind into such a state as left the Romish party nothing to desire. Accordingly, on the Monday after his condemnation[s], in company with his fellow-prisoners, he attended mass, and received the Eucharist in one kind[t]. After the service was concluded, the unhappy Duke said aloud: "For the last sixteen years I have not served God truly. But of all my errors, the greatest is the concern which I have had in putting down the mass. I must, however, say, that if God had pleased to preserve my life, and to continue me in authority,

[s] Aug. 21. Every preparation was made for the execution on that day, and a great crowd assembled to witness it, but a reprieve was granted, in order that the prisoners might attend mass. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 33.

[t] "Before divers of the council." (Persons's Three Conversions, i. 623.) The magistracy of London, and some leading members of the companies were also present. (Strype, ut supra.) There can be little doubt that Northumberland had announced his intention of making some such speech as he actually delivered. Of the object which he hoped to answer by it there can be no doubt.

I would have restored it again before ever one year had come to end. I could not do it at once, because it was necessary for my ends to win the hearts of the Londoners, who love new things [u]." This was quite enough; and accordingly, before the close of the day [v], the Lieutenant of the Tower informed his prisoner that he must die on the following morning. Overpowered by this intelligence, Northumberland instantly despatched letters to Bishop Gardiner and to the Earl of Arundel [w], earnestly begging for their interference in his behalf. His intreaties proving ineffectual, the Duke, together with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer [x], were led to a scaffold on Tower Hill, at the time appointed. In their way Northumberland said to Gates, "God have mercy upon us, Sir John, for this day will end both our lives. I pray you forgive me whatsoever I have offended. I forgive you with all my heart, although you and your counsel have helped to bring this end upon me." The knight replied, "Well, my Lord, I forgive you all as I would be forgiven; and yet

[u] From a contemporary letter in the British Museum, Howard, 329.

[v] The Duke of Northumberland to the Earl of Arundel. Ibid. 321.

[w] In his letter to Arundel he says, "If my life be lengthened by your mediation, and my good Lord Chancellor's (to whom I have also sent my blurred letters) I will ever owe it to be spent at your honourable feet." Gardiner was not at that time Chancellor, but the seals were committed to his custody.

[x] The other persons condemned were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 180.

you and your authority have caused the whole mischief: but the Lord pardon you, and I pray you forgive me." The unhappy men then bowed to each other, and moved onwards to the fatal spot[1]. On reaching the scaffold, Northumberland stripped off his damask gown, and leaning on the eastern rail thus addressed the spectators. "I am come hither to undergo a death most horrible and detestable; but one that I have justly merited; for I have committed most grievous offences against Almighty God, the whole world, and the Queen's grace. This end, however, is not altogether of my own procuring, but has been incensed[2] by others; whom I pray God to pardon; for I will not name nor accuse any man here. I was led by false teachers and preachers some time before King Henry's death,

[1] Lord Stewards' Book. Howard, 323.

[2] To *incense*, in old language, commonly means to *incite*, or to *set one upon* a thing. Such is the force of the word in Shakspeare's King Lear, where Mr. Malone's gloss is to *instigate*.

"He is attended with a desp'rate train;
And what they may *incense* him to, being apt
To have his ear abus'd, wisdom bids fear."

If Northumberland used the word in this sense, he might seem to intimate that he was incited to his enterprise by some nameless individuals; intending, probably, to glance at the Reformers. But this, though of a piece with his address to Sir John Gates, is not exactly the sort of intimation which one would desire to hear from the lips of a man upon the very threshold of eternity. Upon the whole, indeed, the Romanists have little cause for exulting in the fact that this unhappy man concluded his varied career by such loud professions of regard for their principles.

and I have been so ever since. Which is a great part of this my death. Wherefore, beware, good people, lest ye be led and deceived by these seditious and lewd preachers, who have opened the book, and who know not how to shut it again. Return home again to the true religion, to the Catholic faith which hath been taught you of old. Since this new teaching has come among us God has plagued us with wars, commotions, rebellions, pestilence, and famine. Wherefore, good people, obey the Queen, and be content to receive again the true Catholic faith. An example of such as refuse this we have in Germany. How that country has been seduced, and how it is now brought to ruin are facts known to the whole world. By our creed we are taught to say, *I believe in the holy Catholic faith* [a], and such is my very belief, as my Lord Bishop can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will [b]." This absurd, calumnious, and sophistical

[a] "If this speech were not of Heath's inditing to be used by the Duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think, was his, it being his custom to make use of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this Bishop and Rogers, he asked him if he did not know his Creed, and urged *Credo sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam.* But Rogers could tell him that he did not find the Bishop of Rome there." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 451.

[b] Foxe (1280) says of this unhappy victim to his own inordinate ambition; "Albeit he having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, yea though his head were upon the block, if he would recant, and hear mass, consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which before-time, as well in King Henry's days, as in King Edward's, he had oft evidently de-

harangue being concluded, after a short interval of prayer, the Duke submitted his neck to the axe.

cleared himself both to favour, and to further exhorting also the people to turn to the Catholic faith, as he termed it. Whose recantation the Papists forthwith did publish, and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared." That, however, the Duke had received any promise of pardon is not likely, although very little reliance can be placed upon his silence as to this upon the scaffold; for he knew that his recantation must be made complete, before he could calculate on the desired reward of it. That the topics in his speech had been suggested by Bp. Heath can scarcely be doubted: it being not so much the declaration of an awakened conscience, as an invective against a religious party which the ruling powers hoped speedily to crush. Northumberland's words, therefore, concerned the views of those who were struggling for a signal triumph in this lower scene rather than his own appearance in another world. That a man should thus act the politician, in the most awful moment of his existence, unless with some worldly view, is far from probable. There is every reason to believe that to the last he buoyed himself up with the hope of pardon, and that from the Queen's known fanaticism he calculated upon purchasing it at the price of publicly renouncing a religion, to which he had always discovered the utmost indifference, and of aspersing the men who were now evidently marked out for destruction.

[a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 917. From one of the Cottonian MSS. John Dudley was eldest son of Sir Edmund Sutton, *alias* Dudley, who, together with Sir Richard Empson, was mainly concerned in the fiscal severities of King Henry VII. for which, and other offences they were both put to death, in the beginning of the next reign, much to the popular satisfaction. John Dudley was originally bred to the law, but afterwards turning his attention to military affairs, he rapidly rose to distinction, and in 1541, he was created Viscount Lisle. Two years afterwards he was installed Knight of the Garter. Under King Edward he became Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Nor-

The other two sufferers uttered the language of religion and penitence, but no recantation [d].

On the day before this execution, a royal proclamation was issued, commanding, that no man should reason against the doings of her Grace and her council; and assuring the nation, that what she did should be for the honour of God, and for the profit of her subjects' souls [e]. Before the month ended [f], Mary exercised her ecclesiastical supremacy in commissioning Bishop Gardiner to license such preachers as he might consider fit to dispense religious information. Of the manner in which this discretion would be exercised, there could be no doubt in any man's breast, and therefore, such as were attached to the religion established by law began to reflect earnestly, and to consult upon the line of conduct which expedience or necessity might prescribe to them. The courses adopted were various. There were clergymen who set at nought the royal mandate, and continued to preach publicly as they had been used. Others contented themselves with continuing at church the English service prescribed by law, and left the business of religious instruction to private conferences with their parishioners. Of individuals who adopted the former course several

thumberland. He had six sons who reached manhood, but no one of them left any lawful issue. In 1557, the earldom of Northumberland was restored to the family of Percy. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 189.

[d] From a contemporary letter. Howard, 330.

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 40.

[f] On the 29th.

were taken into custody[g]. A disposition to deal severely with several eminent or active divines of scriptural principles had, indeed, been plainly shewn from the beginning of Mary's reign. Bishop Ridley had gone to Framlingham to make his apologies, and offer his submission. He was, however, repulsed, and committed to the Tower as a traitor[h]. Early in August, Dr. Cox, the late King's tutor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, under a similar charge[i]. Bradford and Rogers were requited for their services to Bourn in the tumult at St. Paul's Cross, by being placed under restraint. The former was sent to the Tower, the latter was confined to his house. As they had evidently so much influence over the people, it was concluded that they must have planned the outrage[k]. Before the end of August Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, were summoned before the council. After three hearings, the latter prelate was committed to the Fleet[l]; Coverdale was ordered to remain in attendance. At length this industrious and pious divine regained his liberty, being allowed to go abroad at the instances of the Danish court[m]. In

[g] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 386.

[h] Burghley State-Papers by Haynes, 196.

[i] Ibid. Dr. Cox was within a short time despoiled in a summary manner, of his deaneries of Westminster and Christ Church, which he held together. Dr. Richard Marshall was advanced to the former preferment; Dr. Hugh Weston to the latter. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 192.

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 385.

[l] September 1.

[m] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 194.

the beginning of September the venerable Bishop Latimer, then near Coventry, received a summons to attend the council. Ample time was allowed for his escape after the serving of this notice, no doubt intentionally; but the good old man, scorning to flee, cheerfully waited for the pursuivant; and on the 13th of the month he was committed close prisoner to the Tower, for his "seditious demeanour[n]," as it is expressed in the council-book.

While the religious horizon of England was thus daily becoming more gloomy, Cranmer passed his anxious hours at Lambeth, secluded from public business. He was, indeed, placed under restraint soon after Mary's arrival in London. He then appeared before the council, in all probability, to answer for his participation in the late unhappy attempt to set aside the Queen. He was there severely reprimanded, enjoined to remain at home, and informed that he must hold himself in readiness for another summons[o]. His hospitality was now claimed again by Peter Martyr, who had received orders, within a few days of King Edward's death, to suspend his lectures, to keep himself within Oxford, and not to remove from that place any of his effects. After a short interval, however, the learned Florentine was

[n] Proceedings of Privy Council, 52. Latimer appears to have been brow-beaten and insulted, when before the council. His spirited reception of this treatment is most probably the "seditious demeanour" mentioned in the record. In his way through Smithfield, the admirable old man said, "This place has long groaned for me." Foxe, 1579.

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 439.

allowed his liberty, and he used it by going immediately to share the Archbishop's griefs at Lambeth[p]. The present aspect of affairs was, indeed, highly distressing to all who loved the Reformation, and most alarming to such as had been prominent in the humiliation of Romanism. Many persons, accordingly, of scriptural principles began to meditate a flight from their devoted country before the gathering storm should burst upon it. Cranmer approved this course, as appears from a letter which he subsequently wrote to a religious friend. It was desirable, he said, to forsake a land which denied the liberty of truly worshipping God. Nor would any man fear lest his flight should bring discredit upon the Gospel, if he recollected that even our Saviour did not hesitate to elude the madness of the people before his hour was come, and that his apostles never rushed needlessly into danger[q]. The Archbishop, however, himself refused to flee. Some of his friends urged him strongly to withdraw clandestinely from

[p] After Cranmer was committed to prison, Martyr continued for some time in London, under much anxiety for his personal safety. But at length having obtained permission from the Queen to return to the continent, he settled himself again at Strasburg. (Ibid. 455.) Peter Martyr, whose family name was Vermigli, removed to Zurich, in 1556, as professor of Hebrew and theology, in the room of the learned Conrad Pellican, then lately dead. Martyr died at Zurich in 1562, highly esteemed for his learning, abilities, and unblemished morals. He was born in the year 1500. History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, in the Sixteenth Century, by T. M'Crie, D.D. Edinb. 1827. pp. 117. 384.

[q] Abp. Cranmer to Mrs. Wilkinson. Foxe, 1718.

a country which no longer allowed him the hope of being either useful or secure. He nobly replied, "Were I likely to be called in question for treason, robbery, or any other crime, I should be much more likely to abscond than I am at present. As it is, the post that I hold, and the part that I have taken, require me to make a stand for the truths of holy Scripture. I shall, therefore, undergo with constancy the loss of life, rather than remove secretly from the realm[r]." This virtuous resolve having been formed, he prepared for the worst by an exact adjustment of his affairs. Every claim against him was fully satisfied; and thus, when deprived of his resources, it was found that he had not a single creditor. This final arrangement of his pecuniary concerns was a great relief to his mind. "Thank God," he piously said, "I am now mine own man. I can now conscientiously, with God's help, answer all the world, and face any adversities which may be laid upon me[s]."

Cranmer was abruptly drawn from his temporary seclusion by that spirit of detraction which had industriously pursued him during the whole course of his public life. It had been reported, soon after Mary's triumph over the opposition to her claim, that, anxious to gain favour with the successful party, he had offered to celebrate King Edward's obsequies by officiating in a mass of *Requiem*. The event quickly shewed this to be an impudent fiction;

[r] Parker, 509. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 449.
[s] Foxe, 1692.

but rumours of a similar kind remained afloat. At length it became notorious, that mass had been restored in the cathedral of Canterbury, and this fact was urged as an irrefragable proof of the Primate's time-serving disposition. The truth, however, is, that this illegal act had proceeded from the orders of Dr. Thornden, the perfidious and ungrateful monk who had abused so shamefully Cranmer's confidence and liberality several years before [t]. Dr. Wotton, the Dean of Canterbury, was absent upon a foreign embassy; and consequently the Sub-Dean, who was Thornden, had the church under his control [u]. The Archbishop was no sooner apprised of the manner in which his own character was suffering from this unworthy clergyman's forward zeal for Popery, than he gave vent to his wounded feelings upon paper. The writing lay in a window of his apartment when Bishop Scory chanced, on the 5th of September, to pay him a visit. That prelate read it, and, as it is reported, he successfully begged a copy. He certainly left Lambeth with one in his possession, which he soon lent to a friend, who suffered it to fall into the hands of a third person. It was now transcribed again, and publicly read in Cheapside. All London immediately burned to see it, and the services of almost every hackney writer being quickly put into requisition, within a very short space of time Cranmer's declaration was circulated through the whole metropolis [x]. In this piece, the

[t] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. ii. 556.

[u] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 436.

[x] Foxe, 1698. There is good reason to believe that Foxe is

rumours afloat respecting the writer's compliances are flatly contradicted; Thornden is characterised in terms perhaps unbecoming in a man of Cranmer's condition, but in such terms undoubtedly as that ecclesiastic had fully merited at his hands; masses satisfactory are treated in a manner which unbiassed readers of Scripture generally would pronounce correct, but which was hardly suited either to the writer's place in society, or to the moment when he wrote. In conclusion, he offered, in conjunction with Peter Martyr and four or five others, to maintain publicly the accordance of his opinions with Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity. This declaration is upon the whole an interesting monument of Cranmer's courage, and of his conviction that able Protestants must always establish a triumphant case against Romish adversaries. For the severity of his language an exculpatory reason may be found in the irritation of a mind smarting under calumny, and in the surreptitious mode by which the piece obtained general circulation. It may be supposed not unfairly, that had it been withholden from the public eye until its writer authorised its appearance, ex-

mistaken in stating that Cranmer gave Scory permission to copy this paper. It is probable, therefore, that its appearance in public was not only premature, but also completely surreptitious. "At the close of the Latin version of the declaration, published in 1554, it is there said: '*Lecta publice Londini in vico mercatorum ab amico qui clam autographum surripuerat, 5. Sept. Anno Dom.* 1553.' Valerandus Pollanus republished it in 1554." (Mr. Todd's Introd. to Cranmer, lxxxix.) The reprint of 1557 proceeded from the English exiles.

pressions which could hardly fail to escape from his pen during the heat and hurry of composition, would have been softened down[y]. The case of

[y] The following is a copy of this declaration: "As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying; which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII. seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his life-time, and after, our late sovereign Lord, King Edward VI. took the same wholly away for the great and manifold errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's Holy Supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the Apostles used the same in the primitive Church: the devil goeth about now with lying to overthrow the Lord's Supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad that I have set up the mass again at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign lord, King Edward VI. and that I offered to say mass before the Queen's Highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly, yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel: *Reddat illi Dominus in die illo.* And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did it as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say to the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion set out by the most innocent and godly prince, King Ed-

Cranmer appears in the first instance to have occasioned some difficulty among the Queen's advisers. It was true that he had displayed considerable activity in forwarding the divorce of King Henry from his first wife, and that he even pronounced the final sentence in that famous affair. Early, therefore, in his public life Mary must have looked upon him

ward VI. in his high Court of Parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which his Apostles and the primitive Church used many years. Whereas the mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ, his Apostles, nor the primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report that M. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the Queen's Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said M. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the Church, the ministration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our said sovereign lord King Edward VI. to be more pure and according to God's Word, than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's Word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And where they boast of the faith that hath been in the Church these fifteen hundred years, we will join them in this point, and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past, and we shall prove that the order of the Church, set out at present in this realm by act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years past, and so shall they never be able to prove theirs." (Foxe, 1332.) Among the Foxian MSS. in the British Museum (Bibl. Harl. 417.) is bound up a copy of Cranmer's declaration, printed in black letter in the year 1557.

with aversion. But Gardiner, now basking in the sunshine of royal confidence, had not yielded to any man in zeal for the divorce; and although his appearance during the agitation of that cause was in the character of advocate, yet he had subsequently published in his book *De Vera Obedientia,* the most marked condemnation of the Aragonese marriage[z]. It may be thought that he had long since made his peace with the Queen by his sufferings for Romanism. But Cranmer also could advance a claim upon the favourable consideration of Mary. She was even obliged to him personally. His interference it was that saved her from the effects of her father's anger. He had, indeed, participated in the plan for excluding her from the succession; but he was the last to do so, he did it with the utmost reluctance, and a coolness, approaching total alienation from each other, had long notoriously prevailed between him and Northumberland. Nor, when that

[z] The following citation from Gardiner, *De Vera Obedientia,* is supplied by Sir Francis Hastings: "Sith there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the King's excellent Majesty do otherwise than he did, by the consent of the people, and the judgment of the Church; that is, be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation: and obeying, as meet it was, conformably to the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to have, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage?" (An Apology of Defence of the Watch-word. London, 1600, p. 135.) In the library of York cathedral is a copy of Bp. Gardiner's book, on the first page of which is written, in an ancient hand, "*Apostatæ Gardineri excusatio.*" Mr. Todd's Introd. to Cranmer, lvii.

unprincipled adventurer was completely foiled, did Cranmer withhold his signature from the orders issued to disarm him. Obviously, therefore, the Archbishop's political offences were lighter than those of many persons now admitted to Mary's favour. His various claims to the royal clemency do not appear accordingly to have escaped his enemies, and there is reason to believe, that a design was entertained at one time of merely driving him into privacy upon some small allowance[a]. Possibly with a view to this object, he was cited, on the 27th of August, to appear before the Queen's commissioners, in the consistory of St. Paul's, and he was ordered to bring with him an inventory of his effects[b]. He obeyed, and then again retired to Lambeth. On the 7th of September, however, his declaration made its public appearance[c], and it immediately furnished his enemies with an excuse for treating him with severity. Before the day closed he received an order to attend in the Star-chamber on the following morning[d]. He was there interrogated as to the declaration, and Bishop Heath enquired of him, whether he was not

[a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 438.

[b] Foxe, 1332. With the Archbishop were cited Dr. May, the Dean of St. Paul's, and Sir Thomas Smyth, to whom had been given, according to the bad usage of King Edward's reign, the provostship of Eton, and the deanery of Carlisle. Sir Thomas, however, is thought by Strype to have been in deacon's orders. Under Queen Elizabeth, Smyth recovered his deanery, and he held it until his death. Le Neve, 336. Strype's Life of Smyth, Oxf. 1820, p. 31.

[c] Foxe, 1332.

[d] Proceedings of Privy Council, 52.

sorry that it had been so generally circulated. The Primate replied by avowing himself the author of the paper, and by expressing his regret at its premature appearance. "It was my intention," he said, "to have drawn up a longer piece, and to have affixed it, authenticated by my seal, upon the door of St. Paul's, and of other churches in London[c]." This avowal occasioned a long and serious debate in the council. It was evident, that, if at liberty, the Archbishop would not remain pusillanimously silent during the overthrow of that religious system, upon which he had so long laboured. On the contrary, none of his hearers could doubt that he would come boldly forward, and expose those pretences of antiquity which Romanists invariably place in the foreground of their controversies. Such conduct indeed was plainly called for both by his rank in the Church, and by the part which he had taken during several preceding years. Nor was it illegal to maintain opinions at variance with papal traditions; all the laws imposing a restraint upon such an exercise of judgment having been abrogated. Under these difficulties, it was found necessary to make out against the Archbishop a case as aggravated as possible, in order to justify his arrest. The councillors accordingly, though generally inculpated in his political delinquency themselves, had the face to make it a ground of accusation against him. In their own words, they "thought it convenient, as well for the treason committed by him against the Queen's Ma-

[c] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 196.

jesty, as for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreading about seditious bills moving tumults to the disquieting of the present state, that he should be committed to the Tower; there to remain and be referred to justice, or further ordered, as shall stand with the Queen's pleasure[f]." Now of these two charges, even the second is vague and unjust. For, ecclesiastically speaking, "the present state" was that which the Archbishop sought to preserve in quietness; and it is obvious that he was not likely to cause any political uneasiness unless existing laws were overthrown. His imprisonment, therefore, upon such grounds amounted to an admission that Mary had already made up her mind to abrogate the established religion[g].

One of Bishop Gardiner's earliest cares, on recovering his liberty, was to renew his intercourse with the Emperor. He represented to that monarch the propriety of recommending caution to Mary in her measures for the restoration of Popery. Englishmen had been assiduously taught, he observed, during twenty-five years, that the Papacy was one of the most unprincipled usurpations ever known, and

[f] Proceedings of Privy Council, 52.

[g] According to Foxe (1332) Cranmer was not actually committed to the Tower before the 14th of September. Heylin (Hist. Ref. 196) accounts for this delay by supposing it to have arisen from some members of the council who recommended that the Archbishop should merely be reduced to a private station. But others, he says, who better understood the Queen's mind, subsequently caused the order for his committal to be carried into execution.

therefore it was unlikely that they could be brought all at once to a recognition of its authority. Many powerful families also, enriched by the spoils of the Church, might be expected to use their influence for maintaining an ecclesiastical system, which guaranteed the stability of their acquisitions. Nor, he added, was it to be forgotten, that heresy had infected a large portion of the people; and hence, hasty measures for extirpating that evil might excite a ferment much to be deprecated by a government imperfectly settled. The Bishop also, being aware of Mary's impatience for the restoration of Pole to his native land, urged the necessity of restraining that ecclesiastic from returning with undue haste. Being under a parliamentary attainder, the Cardinal, it was truly said, could not legally set his foot upon English ground, and being obnoxious to a large party in the country, his sudden arrival would be likely to occasion a degree of disgust far from politic to provoke. Among other matters, Gardiner suggested that his own elevation to the chancellorship would probably prove advantageous to the Romish cause. Charles immediately saw the justice of these suggestions, and accordingly he wrote to the Queen according to Gardiner's wishes[h]. In one particular Mary yielded a prompt obedience to the advice of her imperial cousin; the Bishop of Winchester being appointed to the chancellorship on the 23d of August[i]. But she would not pledge herself

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 378.

[i] Proceedings of Privy Council, 51. Gardiner's patent for

to proceed with caution in her designs upon the established religion. She replied to Charles's admonition upon this head, "My trust in God has hitherto supported me under adversity. Now, therefore, that I have attained a throne, I am determined to testify my gratitude to Him, and that not dilatorily or obscurely, but immediately and openly."

At the time of Edward's death, Cardinal Pole was living in retirement at a Benedictine monastery, situated at Maguzzano, a healthy spot upon the lake Garda. He had there no sooner been informed of recent occurrences in England, than he despatched Vincent Parpaglia[l], an intimate friend, with a letter to the pontiff, Julius III. exhorting him to take advantage, if possible, of the favourable conjuncture which seemed to have arrived. His Holiness, however, needed not this admonition. Upon the first intelligence from our island, he addressed[m], under advice of the consistory, a brief to Pole, demanding his opinion as to the course most eligible to be pursued. After the lapse of two or three days, news reached Rome, that Mary had gained possession of the English crown. Upon this, Pole was appointed, with the unanimous consent of the con-

the office of Chancellor bears date September 21, according to Dugdale. Harmer's Specimen of Errors, Lond. 1693, p. 121.

[l] La Vie du Cardinal Commendon, ecrite en Latin par A. M. Gratiani, trad. en Fr. par M. Flechier, Evêque de Nismes. Par. 1702, i. 59. Phillips's Pole, 8vo. ed. ii. 48.

[l] August 6. Pallavicino, ii. 29.

[m] August 2. Ibid. 30.

sistory, papal legate for England.[n] The bearer of this nomination met Parpaglia near Bologna, when that person, finding himself anticipated, immediately returned with the Roman messenger to Maguzzano. Pole seems to have accepted the office of English legate with little or no hesitation; but he suggested that it might be desirable to feel his way before he should leave Italy, by means of some secret agent. For this purpose he despatched Henry Penning to England[o], charged with several letters, among which was one for the Queen, another was for Bonvisi, an Italian merchant, and a third was for Cardinal Dandino, papal ambassador at Brussels, upon whom the messenger was to call. Dandino had, however, been beforehand with the English Cardinal.[p] He had already sent into our island one of his suite, John Francis Commendone, a Venetian of distinguished abilities, and eventually a cardinal, with instructions to observe particularly the state of public opinion, and to obtain, if possible, a private audience of the Queen. Commendone left Brussels secretly and alone. He embarked at Gravelines, having previously hired there two servants, one a thorough master of French, the other of English, to act as guides and interpreters. To these men he represented that he was nephew of an Italian

[n] August 5. Ibid.
[o] August 12. Ibid.
[p] This is obvious from the fact that Dandino's agent was in London when Bourn preached at St. Paul's Cross, August 13, as appears from Graziani's Life of Commendone, cited by Ridley. Review of Phillips, 223.

merchant, recently dead in London, and that he wanted to visit that capital for the purpose of winding up his uncle's affairs there. When arrived in the English metropolis, he found a high degree of agitation generally prevalent, and he observed with uneasiness that those who were about the Queen displayed a considerable anxiety to keep her from holding any confidential communication with foreigners, especially with such as might be likely to serve the Pope, or the Emperor[1]. At length he met with an Englishman, named Lee, a strict Romanist, whom he had formerly known in Italy, and who was now attached to the royal household. After some conversation with this person, Commendone became satisfied that he might safely confide to him a knowledge of his object in coming to England, and by his means he secretly gained admittance into the royal presence. Mary cordially welcomed her Italian visitor, and expressed her anxiety for a reconciliation with Rome, but she complained that her movements were very closely watched, and that her authority as yet was but imperfectly established. Hence it would be necessary, she said, to proceed for the present, as to religion, with secresy and caution. Of this Commendone was fully persuaded, and he, therefore, threw out hints of the security with which her Majesty might effect her purposes, if she were to marry the Emperor's son. In another private audience, Mary gave to her new acquaintance a letter for the Pope, in her own hand-writing, promising the

[1] Pallavicino, ii. 31. Graziani, i. 63.

return of herself and her people to the faith of Rome, and to a dependence upon the Papacy[*]. Having given this unconstitutional pledge, Mary dismissed Commendone with an injunction to communicate the particulars of their conversation only to Cardinal Pole and the Pope. The successful Italian left London on the day following that on which Northumberland was executed[†], and after calling at Brussels to see his patron Dandino, he travelled day and night until he reached Pole's re-

[*] "Chiamò il Commendone, e consegnòli una lettera scritta al Papa di suo carattere, *nella quale prometteva, ch' ella e'l suo regno sarebbono stati nella fede, e nell' ubbidienza de' Romani Pontefici.*" (Ibid.) To her interviews with Commendone may, probably, be attributed Mary's disengenuous conduct at the time when that agent was in London. His visits to the Queen must have been paid between the 13th and 22d of August. From the difficulties which he experienced in obtaining admittance to her, most probably near the latter date. Now, on the 12th of the month, her Majesty assured the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London, that she "did not mean to strain or compel the consciences of other men." This declaration was to be publicly promulged to the Common Council on the 14th: but on the 18th, a royal proclamation plainly announced that this tolerance was only to continue until parliament should meet. It seems likely that Commendone had contrived, between the 14th and the 18th, to inflame the bigotry of Mary, and to raise her spirits by holding out the prospect of foreign assistance.

[†] August 23. "Partissi di Londra il Commendone appunto il giorno appresso al supplizio del Duca di Nortumbria." Ibid. 32. Graziani says, that Commendone stayed to see the execution of Northumberland by Mary's particular desire. The dexterous Italian had accomplished his object two days before that act of justice, and he was impatient to be gone. Vie de Commendone, i. 69.

tirement upon the lake Garda[t], whence he proceeded with all haste to Rome[u]. Julius heard an account of his mission with tears of joy, and immediately summoned the resident cardinals to a consultation. When, however, their eminences met, two sources of embarrassment presented themselves. Mary had committed herself to Commendone and the Pope under a solemn pledge of secresy, and Dandino had informed his agent, while at Brussels, that the Emperor was anxious to prevent Pole from assuming the legatine functions with precipitancy. For the purpose, accordingly, of keeping faith with the Queen, Julius agreed to lay her pledge before the cardinals merely as a fact of which he was assured by a trusty messenger, who had heard it from persons in Mary's confidence. This statement, though confirmed by Commendone in person, was not satisfactory to the Consistory: nor did it seem reasonable, if such an account were true, that Pole should delay his journey to England. Nothing, therefore, was concluded, and the cardinals agreed to meet again at the end of a week. They then determined[v] to let matters rest until England should be less agitated by the violence of party, and until the Queen could fulfil her intentions without exposing herself to the hazard of dethronement[w]. In the mean time it was resolved to nominate Pole legate to the courts of Austria and

[t] September 7. Vie de Commendone.

[u] He reached Rome on the 11th of September. Pallavicino, iii. 33.

[v] September 18. Ibid. 34.

[w] Ibid.

France in the places of the Cardinals Dandino and Capodiferro, who had been despatched from Rome in the preceding April, with the view of negociating a peace between Charles and Henry [x].

Shortly after the departure of his first messenger Penning, Pole sent into England his secretary Fiordibello [y], with a letter formally congratulating Mary upon her accession, and announcing his own appointment to the English legation. This person was also charged to counteract, if possible, any objections which the Emperor might urge against his master's immediate assumption of the legatine authority. He was to represent, that England had shewn herself favourable to the Catholic religion, in raising so readily to the throne a queen who professed it, and that, when parliament should assemble, it would be most injurious to let the session pass without some protest on the part of the apostolic see against the schism [z]. If, therefore, it were thought undesirable that the Cardinal should pass over into his native land immediately, Fiordibello was to reason, that he ought at least to be within so short a distance as to allow the parliament easily to communicate with him. In the course of a week [a], Pole

[x] Pallavicino, ii. 25.

[y] August 21. Ibid. 32.

[z] "Dovendosi ben tosto raunare un parliamento de tre ordini del regno, nel qual parliamento in primo luogo, ciascuno che si stimi aggravato dal preceduto governo, espon sue ragioni, sarebbe stato di gravissimo pregiudicio, che niuno per nome della Sede Apostolica parlasse contra lo scisma." Ibid.

[a] August 28. Ibid.

despatched to Mary, by the hands of Michael Throckmorton, a letter urging the same arguments, and the bearer undertook to support them verbally. The Cardinal's impatience was soon afterwards inflamed by the visit of Commendone, and when that able Venetian left Maguzzano, he took from him a letter to the Pope, representing the necessity of expedition [b]. But Julius quickly came to a different conclusion; and accordingly, September had nearly worn away before the desired packet reached the shores of Garda. That Pole was far from fully satisfied with his new instructions is scarcely doubtful. However he undertook the mission to Charles and Henry, and set off without delay [c]. Being arrived at Trent, he received, on the first of October, a letter from Penning, who had succeeded in obtaining a private audience of the Queen. Mary expressed to him a great anxiety to see Pole again in England, but she said that her apprehensions of heretical hostility had not subsided, that she could not pay obedience to the Roman see without parliamentary authority, nor hold a parliament before her coronation. She therefore intreated the Cardinal to dispense with a public avowal of her sentiments towards Rome, until she should be legally empowered to make it. She added, that she would not bear the schismatical title of Head of the English Church, even if she could thereby gain three other kingdoms [d]. On the following day [e], Pole addressed

[b] Vie de Commendone.
[c] Pallavicino, ii. 34.
[d] Ibid. 35.
[e] October 2.

to his royal cousin a very long letter in English. In this he represented that it was her duty to proceed with spirit in replacing England under the pontifical authority; and that the opponents of such a measure would be found far less numerous than might be supposed: the clergy having been pillaged since their defection from Rome; the people, in lieu of paying a trifling tax[f], having been grievously oppressed; and the nobility, though averse from the papal supremacy, as having been enriched by its abolition, being very much dependent upon the court. In conclusion, he besought the Queen to lay aside her apprehensions, and to use her endeavours to allay those of the Emperor. Having written this letter, and sent off despatches to the French and Imperial courts, announcing his mission to them, the Cardinal proceeded. At Dillingen, in the bishopric of Augsburg, he found it necessary to wait awhile for passports from the Duke of Wurtemberg, and some other princes. There he met Penning, charged with a letter to him from Mary, conceived in very kind and religious terms, but probably brief and cautious; as he was referred to the bearer for more complete information. From that individual he learnt, that the Queen wished him to conduct himself at Brussels in a very guarded manner, and that she would communicate with him through Granville, Bishop of Arras[g].

In his way homewards Dandino saw Pole, and

[f] Peter-pence.

[g] Pallavicino *ut supra*.

informed him that he must expect his mission to prove any thing rather than agreeable at the Imperial court. This intelligence was quickly confirmed by Fiordibello, who had been sent to Brussels with despatches. "It is extraordinary," said Granville to that person, with a most unpromising air of surprise[h], "that the Pope should not have given a hint of this embassy to his Imperial Majesty. What hope is there that the interference of any single Legate will effect the pacification for which the two Cardinals just recalled have so long vainly laboured? This mission is a mere blind to conceal your master's English legation; upon the duties of which, I certainly know that the Queen anxiously desires him not to enter at present; being persuaded that an immediate exercise of his powers as an agent of the Roman see would injure, most probably, both her own interests, and those of her people[i]." To these intimations Pole was deaf, and having received his passports from the Duke of Wurtemberg, he proceeded on his journey. But he had not advanced many leagues, before Don John Mendoza met him with a letter from the Emperor, and at the same time apprised him, that for most important reasons, which his imperial Majesty had communicated to the Pope, it was judged inexpedient to receive him at Brussels. He, therefore, begged him either to stay where he was, or at some other place upon the road.

[h] Fiordibello "tosto che ne diè parte al Vescovo d'Arras, il vide far atto d'una spiacevole maraviglia." Pallavicino, ii. 35.

[i] Ibid.

Mendoza strove to allay Pole's irritation under this mortifying interruption of his plans, by dwelling upon the unsettled state of England, and upon the invidiousness of his proceeding to the imperial court, in the first instance, when the mission equally concerned the King of France. Such a preference, he said, would look as if it were thought that the chief impediments to a pacification lay on the side of Austria. Observations were also made, as if incidentally, upon the prudence of allowing the question of Mary's marriage to be decided first among the various objects which engaged her attention. In discoursing upon this matter, Mendoza expressed himself anxious that her Majesty should fix her choice upon a foreigner, as a means of preventing those heats and jealousies which would be likely to flow from a preference for one of her own subjects. Pole admitted the justice of much that was urged, but he could not conceal his chagrin at being thus arrested, when he seemed upon the point of realizing all his hopes. "This affair," he said, "is an indignity to the Apostolic see. And I think myself scarcely justified, having received a commission from his Holiness, in stopping at the desire of another prince. The Emperor had better have spoken plainly, and expressed an objection to me personally, not to a pontifical legation generally." Mendoza, after assurances that Charles was actuated by no personal objections against him, recommended him to travel onwards at his leisure as far as Liege, and there to stop. Pole, however, thought that he should thus aggravate the indignity which he had

encountered, and the difficulty of accomplishing his designs. It seemed like knocking at the very door of the Emperor's court without any reasonable hope of obtaining admittance, and like placing himself in a cage from which he might find it impossible to pass over into England[k]. He, therefore, determined upon returning to Dillingen. There he soon had the mortification to receive a letter from the papal court[l], informing him that Charles had assigned to the Pontiff sufficient reasons why he should suspend for a time, the exercise of his powers; and in consequence, enjoining him to remain where he was, until his imperial Majesty should approve of his removal. In France, the Cardinal's messenger obtained a satisfactory answer, Henry being willing to receive his patron. But Charles, apprehensive, it is thought, that if Pole reached Paris, he would quickly pass over into England, intimated his intention to decline the papal mediation altogether, if it should first be attempted with his rival. In vain did the arrested legate write very long and animated letters to the Emperor, the Pope, and the Queen. All these great personages remained obstinately deaf to his remonstrances until arrangements had been made for marrying Mary to the Prince of Spain. Then Pole received a letter from Charles, inviting him to Brussels[m], and he soon afterwards

[k] Pallavicino, ii. 36.
[l] Dated October 28. Ibid.
[m] Dated December 22. Ibid. 37.

had the satisfaction of entering that capital, in a style corresponding with his expectations [n].

The Emperor's principal object in impeding Pole was undoubtedly to conclude a matrimonial treaty between Mary and his own son. Philip was born at Valladolid, on the 21st of May, in the year 1527. Before he had completed the half of his seventeenth year, he was married to the Infanta Mary, daughter of John III. King of Portugal, and of Catharine, his father's sister. Mary was then just sixteen, and she lived with her youthful husband until the summer following her marriage was on the wane. She then died, leaving a son behind her, named Charles [o], after his grandfather; who proving eventually weak, worthless, and unmanageable, was privately destroyed by his father's orders, and has, under the designation of Don Carlos, furnished many pages to the lovers of mystery and romance. Since the death of his Portugueze bride Philip had lived a widower. He was now in his twenty-seventh year. His cousin, Mary of England, was fast approaching to the full age of thirty-nine [p]. Philip, however, fully alive to the soundness of that matrimonial policy to which his family was mainly indebted for its existing splendour [q], made no great objection to

[n] Pallavicino.

[o] Felipe Segundo Rey de España, por Luis de Cabrera. Madrid, 1619. p. 8.

[p] Mary was born on the 8th of February, in the year 1515.

[q] The Emperor Maximilian of Austria married in the year 1477, Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of

a match with the Queen of England: an object which engrossed his father's cares immediately after Mary's accession. It is believed that her Majesty, upon her first arrival in London, had some thoughts of marrying Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, one of the distinguished persons whom she found imprisoned in the Tower, a young man of handsome person and of royal blood, being descended maternally from King Edward IV. But Courtenay soon fell into habits of low dissipation, and he seems, besides, to have preferred the Lady Elizabeth[r]. That Pole

Burgundy, who perished in battle at the beginning of that year. This princess died in 1482, from the effects of a fall received in hunting, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. The elder of these, surnamed the handsome, who succeeded to the bulk of the territories ruled by his maternal ancestors, obtained for his posterity the dominion of Spain, by a marriage, in 1496, with Joan, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile. This rapid rise of the house of Austria to the summit of princely splendour, by means of marriage, gave birth to the following epigram:

"Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria *nube*,
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

Coxe's House of Austria, i. 353. ii. 89. Pfeffel, ii. 61.

[r] "There goes a story that the young Earl petitioning her (Mary) for leave to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse to accept him for a husband. By which words, though she pointed out herself as plainly as might stand with the modesty or majesty of a maiden queen, yet the young gentleman, not daring to look so high as a crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess Elizabeth, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister, which gave the Queen so

was considered by many persons an eligible husband for Mary admits of no question, and there is very good reason for believing that she herself was inclined at one time to bestow her hand upon him[s]. It is positively stated that she had even gone so far as to ask Commendone whether the Cardinal, having only taken deacon's orders, might not obtain a pontifical dispensation enabling him to marry, should the public good require it[t]. Pole himself appears to have entertained the hope of such a marriage at an early period of his life, and never to have abandoned it until the princess was affianced to another. She had been educated in his mother's family, and therefore, although fifteen years her senior, it is not unlikely that he might have fixed his affections upon her, and that she might have grown up with a strong partiality for him. To the hope of accomplishing eventually this cherished object have been attributed,

much displeasure, that she looked with an evil eye upon both of them for ever after." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 201.

[s] "Il estoit bien informé qu'il y avoit des gens dans Londres, qui vouloient que la Reine épousast le Cardinal Polus. On disoit que la Reine mesme n'avoit pas fort rejetté cette proposition, et qu'elle avoit demandé a Commendon, si le Pope pouvoit dispenser un cardinal diacre pour le marriage." Graziani, i. 71.

[t] "Essendo stati proposti alla Reina varij mariti del paese, frà quelli erasi nominato anche il Polo, sì come uniforme di religione, regio di sangue, eminente di vertù. *Nè la Reina s'era astenuta di farne motto allo stesso Commendone,* addimandolo, s'egli credea che'l Pontefice fosse per dispensare col Polo, essendo egli non ancora sacerdote, mà diacono, e trovandosi esempij di tali dispensazioni per qualche gran beneficio publico." Pallavicino, ii. 33.

with great probability, much both of the good and of the ill which marked his character. It has been doubted whether his wishes to decline the Cardinalate and the Papacy, flowed so much from modesty, as from a desire to remain at liberty for accepting the Lady Mary's hand. Nor has it been thought unlikely that his unbecoming appearances as a political agitator [u] and a party-libeller [v] are not so much attributable to fanaticism, as to rage and disappointment; the princess, by whose means he hoped to share a throne, being, when he thus disgraced himself, formally cut off from the prospect of succession [w].

[u] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. ii. 229. 337.

[v] Ibid. 185.

[w] Archbishop Parker (522) says that, according to many people, Catharine of Aragon wished her daughter Mary to marry one of the Lady Salisbury's sons, with the view of strengthening her claims to the throne, in case her father should die without male offspring. Now Reginald was the Countess's youngest son, therefore, to say nothing of any personal recommendations that he might possess, he was the member of his family most suited for a match with his royal cousin. To the hope of contracting this splendid alliance, the Archbishop attributes Pole's delay in taking priest's orders. All this is founded avowedly upon rumours and conjectures alone. But they were the rumours and conjectures of contemporaries, and they are rendered highly probable by the fact that Pole, though fifty-three years of age at the time of Mary's accession, was actually talked of for her husband, and even, as there is good reason to believe, by herself. If this, however, be the real solution of Pole's conduct, it is no small disparagement to his character. It is bad enough to look upon him as an ill-judging fanatic, who hesitated at nothing which he thought likely to serve his party, but the case is much worse if he took so much pains to disgrace himself, because his eye was ever fixed upon a throne.

Besides his anxiety to conclude the matrimonial treaty before Pole reached England, Charles desired to delay his arrival there upon another account. The policy of Austria demanded that Mary should be maintained upon the throne, if possible, as a counterpoise to the power of France. But that princess, herself, in conversation with Commendone, had described her situation as any thing rather than secure. "I must wait," she said, "until my people's feelings towards the apostolical see are somewhat mollified, or until I am more thoroughly settled on the throne. At present, the very name of Rome is mortally hated here. My sister Elizabeth, accordingly, as identified with the popular religious party, is dear to the public, and furnishes a never-failing theme of conversation[x]." Charles was no stranger to the state of parties in England, and he, therefore, naturally dreaded the premature interference of a papal legate; especially of one whose discretion he must have doubted, and whose principles even he, probably, thought open to suspicion. It might seem, indeed, that the Emperor had hinted to the Pope his distrust of Pole. For Archbishop Mozzarelli, who, in the name of his Holiness, congratulated Charles upon the conclusion of a matrimonial treaty between Philip and Mary, was ordered to bear testi-

[x] "S'aspettasse che i popoli fossero ò più mollificati verso la sede apostolica, il cui nome odiavano a morte, ò più domati dalla Reina a cui rendevano un ossequio quasi spontaneo ed imprestato; havendo sempre in bocca ed in cuore la sorella Elisabetta, quanto minore d'età, altrettanto maggiore di spirito, ed uniforme ad essi nella religione." Pallavicino, ii. 32.

mony to the integrity of Pole, and to represent him as a man whose only objects had ever been to obey the Pope, and to benefit religion[y]. Bishop Gardiner, also, was upon the alert to prevent Pole from suddenly coming home. His object in this has been considered as partly personal, and it probably was so. The Bishop of Winchester, like all worldly men, was greedy of wealth, power, and distinction. The see of Canterbury might be looked upon as vacant, and it is far from unlikely that Gardiner would gladly have accepted it. He was already Chancellor, and should he be able to preserve his influence with the Queen, he might reasonably calculate upon retaining that office, and of adding to it some of the honours dispensed by the court of Rome. He might thus attain a condition of splendour resembling that of Wolsey, his patron in early life. Pole, however, was likely to cross his ambitious views. The Cardinal might be expected to obtain the see of Canterbury, if it should be vacant on his arrival. He could scarcely fail of acquiring a great influence over Mary, both from his early connexion with her, and from his uniform adherence to the papacy. Gardiner, therefore, was naturally anxious that his own power should be established, and his own objects attained before the return of Pole. He had also reasons of state for desiring to keep the Cardinal

[y] "Al nuovo arcivescovo fù dunque imposto, che si congratulasse con Cesare del matrimonio conchiuso, *e che dipoi l'assicurasse intorno al integrità del Cardinal Polo;* la cui virtù esser tale, che niuno interesse mondano l'harebbe travolto dalle commessioni del papa e dal bene della religione." Pallavicino, ii. 37.

some time longer abroad. That distinguished churchman had forfeited the good opinion of his countrymen by his treasons and libels. A salutary abhorrence of the Roman see had taken firm possession of the public mind. The evils arising from that source were fresh in the recollections of men, and able Englishmen of all parties had laboured successfully to expose the shallowness of those pretences upon which the papal usurpation is founded. Gardiner, accordingly, dreaded a premature attempt to place England once more under the yoke of Rome. But he had no reason to confide in the discretion of Pole, and he did not doubt that personal communication would soon give him a powerful influence over the Queen's mind. The Bishop of Winchester, therefore, apprehended that, under existing circumstances, Pole's arrival would occasion a general alarm, and thus ruin the cause which he was labouring to advance [z].

The first of October was devoted to the splendid pageantry of Mary's coronation. As usual, the ceremony was performed in the abbey-church of Westminster, and although the celebration of mass was illegal, her Majesty either chose to exercise her discretion as head of the national church, or to set law at defiance upon this occasion, for that service was

[z] Noailles, the French ambassador, says of Pole, "if once he come hither, he will have the first place in the Queen's confidence, but little to the pleasure of the Chancellor, of several of the nobility, and of the people, who will be very unwilling to obey such a minister of the Pope." Neve's Animadv. upon Phillips, 475.

used[a]. Bishop Gardiner crowned his royal mistress, being assisted by ten other bishops. In order that the day might gratify her subjects as well as herself, Mary now remitted the payment of the subsidy voted in the last Parliament[b]. She also granted a general pardon. But from the benefit of this were excluded all the prisoners in the Tower, the Fleet, and sixty-two unfortunates besides. Grafton and Whitchurch, the publishers of the Bible in English, were among the persons expressly excepted from this act of royal clemency[c].

That no clemency was in reserve for those who should refuse to relinquish a scriptural faith, was now indeed thoroughly understood; and, accordingly, great numbers of conscientious Englishmen were intent upon escaping to the continent. Facilities for this emigration were afforded by the removal of the foreign Protestants. Early in September, a Lasco's congregation, after being dispossessed of its privileges, and of the church appropriated for its public worship, was compelled to quit the island. Two Spanish vessels happened to be in the river, and on board of them one hundred and seventy-five of these refugees embarked. They steered for Denmark, but having adopted the Helvetian confession, they were not allowed to settle in that country. Nor was it until the end of March, that, after much wandering, and many difficulties, they found a home in Fries-

[a] Parker, 509.
[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 393.
[c] Foxe, 1332.

land. Many French Protestants also withdrew from England about the same time; and orders were sent, on the 16th of September, to the mayors of Rye and Dover, to place no impediments in the way of their embarkation. To these orders many conscientious Englishmen were indebted for an escape from domestic intolerance. The foreigners, whose egress was thus gladly permitted, took with them, under the name of servants, no small number of their English friends. When, however, the Queen's ministers heard that their grasp was thus in several instances eluded, orders were sent down to the coast, that for the future none should be suffered to embark as Frenchmen, who were not furnished with passports from the French ambassador. In number, the English Christians who were happily enabled about this time to seek that liberty of conscience abroad, which their native land refused them, did not fall short of eight hundred[d]. Among these pious exiles were several individuals highly distinguished for their learning and abilities[e].

The alarm of such Englishmen as opposed the corruptions of Rome, was indeed inevitable, from the whole conduct of the government ever since it had

[d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 196. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 390.

[e] The Bishops Poynet, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Bale, ultimately effected their escape; as did the Deans Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner, and Sampson. Of eminent churchmen then less dignified, there were, in the course of time, among the refugees, Aylmer, Grindal, Sandys, Jewell, Pilkington, Nowell, and many others little inferior in talent, probably, to these. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 449.

acquired even an appearance of stability. So great was the severity and partiality with which affairs were conducted, that Mary was believed to have formed the most tyrannical determinations. It was reported that she had spoken of herself as "a virgin sent from God to ride and tame the people of England[f]." In many minds the prospect of miseries in

[f] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 442. A parade of continence being one of the pretences by which Romanism obtains a hold upon ignorant and fanatical minds, much stress was laid upon it at this time. The following is a compliment paid, through this channel, to the Queen. "Considering farther the earnest affection which your Grace beareth towards the furtherance of true religion, the reformation of abuses touching the same, and the maintenance of virtue; and again, that among other virtues, there is none so requisite for any that taketh upon him the regiment of Christ's people, as cleanness of heart, and chastity of body, *wherein your Grace excelleth*: I have addressed *this simple piece of work* unto your Highness, and dedicated it unto your Grace's protection, for so much as the whole process of your life doth plainly repel the brutish opinion which is now commonly holden among those men, that no wight can live chaste, whereas they, notwithstanding, and heresy self granteth us that your Highness hath ever continued a virgin. And if, according to the saying of one of the seven wise men, that woman is to be counted chaste, *de qua mentiri fama veretur*, how high praiseworthy is your Grace, whom, not fame only, but also malice itself, was ever ashamed to belie in this behalf, as in the which she could never find any thing worthy reproach. Wherefore, as I said, I knew not to whom I might so conveniently dedicate this my book containing the defence of virginity, as to so worthy a virgin." (A Traictise declairing and plainly proving, that the pretensed marriage of priests and professed persons is no marriage: by T. Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, Lond. May, 1554.) At the time when these compliments were addressed to her Majesty, she was upon the eve of marriage with Philip.

reversion completely answered the end for which a kind Providence afflicts mankind. The churches in which ministers officiated according to law, were attended by large and devout congregations, which listened to the prayers, and received the holy Communion with more seriousness than heretofore. This disposition of some clergymen to obey the law, and of many among the people to reap the benefit of a service which they could understand, gave offence at court. Agents accordingly went round the London churches, and endeavoured to disturb in their ministrations any clergymen whom they found officiating in the manner prescribed by act of Parliament. Such individuals were summoned, under one pretence or other, before the Chancellor Gardiner, and unless they shewed a disposition to use the illegal rites of Popery, they were committed to prison.*

On the 5th of October the great council of the nation assembled at Westminster. Its first business

* Strype, Mem. Cranm. 446. Sanders affects to bewail the precipitancy with which Romish bigots, or interested worldlings of the clerical order, resumed the papal service. "All priests ought," he says, "before they took this course, to have considered by whom and in what manner they were ordained, and whether they were obnoxious to any ecclesiastical censures." To the manner in which these considerations were overlooked, he thinks may probably be attributed two judicial visitations of Providence, as he considers them, namely, the early loss of Queen Mary, and the substitution of a religion, having Scripture for its warrant, for the creed which she took upon trust from Rome. "Cæterum ex hac, fortasse, in clero, maxime illius temporis supina, ac irreligiosa negligentia, tam cito Deo vindice, qui sancta non nisi sancte tractari voluit, cum pientissima Principe, etiam hoc religionis summum bonum amisimus." De Schism. 249.

was to infringe existing laws; for Mary, being determined to force her own religion upon the people, had ordered, that a mass of the Holy Ghost should precede the despatch of public business; as had been usual at the time when such a service could be performed without the violation of any law. The abbey-church was again the scene of this illegal act, and the Queen attended it in all the pomp of royalty. One immediate effect of this ceremony was the exclusion from his seat of the only prelate likely to protest against the yoke of papal Rome. On the day preceding that in which Parliament met, Holgate, Archbishop of York, was committed to the Tower, "for divers his offences[h];" a sweeping kind of censure, which leaves the prelate's particular delinquencies open to conjecture. Nor is it obvious what offences could be laid to his charge, unless it had appeared that he had favoured the lady Jane. He was, besides, married, and he professed the established religion, instead of the Queen's. By this opportune imprisonment, only the Bishops Taylor and Harley remained among their order to plead in Parliament the cause of the Reformation. Of these prelates, the latter was not allowed to take his seat; because, using the discretion allowed to him by the laws of God, of the Catholic Church, and of his

[h] Proceedings of Privy Council, 53. Abp. Holgate was released after the imprisonment of something more than a year, together with others "concerned in the lady Jane's or Wyat's business." His political offences, however, appear to have been but slight, for he was fined only twenty-three marks. One of those released with him was fined 200*l.* and another 300*l.*

country, he had contracted marriage. Taylor attended the opening of Parliament; but not conceiving himself justified, as a Christian man and minister, in offering religious adoration to any other than the mighty God, he turned a deaf ear to the tinkling bell, and knelt not before the wafer-cake uplifted at the mass of the Holy Ghost. This act of obedience to holy Scripture, and to the laws of his native country, was deemed inexcusable, and he was unceremoniously thrust out of his place [j].

Considerable pains had been taken to muster such a House of Commons as might prove agreeable to the court, letters being sent down into different parts of the country naming individuals who were to be returned. In some instances this unconstitutional interference on the part of the government was spurned by the electors. Members, however, chosen in such a spirit of independence were not allowed to sit; others being illegally substituted for them [k]. Measures, thus arbitrary, were not unusual in that age. Edward had interfered with his people in their exercise of the elective franchise, and Elizabeth subsequently did the same. But it must be owned that a Lower House assembled in such a manner can hardly be thought fairly to represent the sense of the nation. After all, it was found, at this time, that the Commons were not sufficiently pliant. An act was passed to restore the

[j] Collier, ii. 348: chiefly from Beal, clerk of the council under Queen Elizabeth.

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 457. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 394.

law of treason to the state in which it was left by King Edward III, and the law of felony to the state in which it stood at the accession of King Henry VIII. From the benefit however of this merciful statute all were excepted who had been imprisoned, or even restrained, upon charges of treason, petty treason, or misprision of treason, before the last day of the preceding September[l]. Two private bills also passed; one for repealing the attainder of the late Marquess of Exeter's widow, the other for rendering a similar service to her son, the Earl of Devonshire[m]. It was intended to follow these popular measures by an act repealing at one blow all the statutes bearing upon religion which had been enacted since the commencement of King Henry's disputes with Rome. This would at once have asserted the Queen's legitimacy, and have given to Popery a legal establishment in

[l] "That none of those multitudes of King Edward's friends, or of the Lady Jane's well-willers, or professors of the Gospel, that were already taken up and crowded in gaols, should receive benefit by this wonderful act of clemency; it was provided, that nothing in that act should in any wise extend to give any manner of benefit, advantage, or commodity to any person, or persons being the last day of September arrested or imprisoned for treason, or to any person heretofore being indicted of treason, petty treason, &c. before the last day of September; *or if they were not actually taken up, yet if they were so much as commanded to keep his or their house, or houses, or other men's houses,* or otherwise excepted out of the Queen's most gracious pardon, given the day of her coronation, &c. all these should suffer such pains of death, losses, forfeitures of lands and goods, as in cases of treason." Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 58.

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 395.

the country. By the Lords this measure of indiscriminate abrogation was favourably received. But it excited a violent clamour out of doors, and the ministry became apprehensive that the bill would be lost in the Lower House. It was generally viewed as an insidious attempt to revive the papal power over England, an usurpation almost universally odious [n]. Alarmed by the rising spirit of opposition, the Queen unexpectedly came down to the House, on the 21st of October, gave the royal assent to

[n] "Adeo enim delegatio tua publica est suspecta, et nostris subditis odiosa, ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus præjudicii, quam auxilii fuerit allaturus. Fidele testimonium nobis præstat Comitiorum indictorum series et progressus; in quibus plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem sedis Apostolicæ, quam circa veræ religionis cultum; *adeo falsis suggestionibus sunt alienati subditorum animi a Pontifice.*" (Maria Polo, Ep. iv. 119.) Noailles appears from the following passage to have thought that the Queen's affection, and the nation's hatred for Popery, would infallibly cause a rebellion. "Et de moy, je fais compte que bientost apres elle y voudra entendre comme a sa principale affection, et *qui ne se conduira aisement sans quelque desordre, pour la mauvaise inclination que je vois en ceste nation a se vouloir reduire a une tant louable volonté de leur Royne, ne declairant rien moins sinon qu'il mourra plus de vingt mil hommes avant que de changer leur nouvelle institution.*" (M. de Noailles à M. le Connestable: 13. Aout, 1553, Ambass. ii. 110.) This passage follows that which relates the particulars of the tumult caused by the celebration of mass at St. Bartholomew's, soon after Mary's accession. It places in a most satisfactory point of view the success which had flowed from the evangelical labours of England's Reformers, and it accounts for the vindictive tyranny, and base intrigues to which Mary's government unremittingly resorted.

the three bills which had been passed, and prorogued the Parliament for three days.

When the legislators met again, a greater degree of caution was observed in proposing ecclesiastical subjects to their consideration. A bill was introduced confirming the marriage between the Queen's parents, and it passed without any difficulty: the mention of a papal dispensation being avoided in it. Greatly to the disgrace of such as drew this bill, or of those who directed them, the preamble contains the following passage: "That Thomas Cranmer did most ungodly, and against law, judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the scriptures, and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures." Corruption is charged upon such universities as approved the divorce. Henry's marriage with Catharine is said to have been contracted under the advice of able and virtuous men, and those evils which had befallen England since the rupture of his connexion with her are represented as judicial visitations sent by Providence on that account. Gardiner, the Chancellor, it is to be hoped, approved not the wording of this bill. It is very little to his honour that he did not exert himself to prevent it from passing as it stands. He had been a zealous agent in forwarding the divorce before Cranmer, probably, was known even by name to King Henry, his activity in the cause never ceased until his patron was

Strype, Mem. Cranm. 458.

gratified, and he then published a book in vindication of the courses that had been adopted.

By another act, all King Edward's laws relating to religion were repealed. In the Upper House this measure appears to have been received with the most obsequious apathy. But among the Commons, there were those who thought that an English liturgy, strictly conformable to scripture and to ecclesiastical antiquity, was better suited to the spiritual wants of themselves and their constituents, than a Latin service, patched with fictions and absurdities which gradually sprang up during the very worst ages of the Christian æra. Those who held this opinion made a vigorous opposition, of six days' continuance, to such as advocated the propriety of using at church a language which the people do not understand, and of mixing up in the manual of a Christian's prayers various reveries, contemptible every where, and most objectionable in a book of devotion. At last, however, the party prevailed which in spiritual things preferred the guidance of the dark ages to that of Holy Scripture. It was enacted, accordingly, that after the 20th day of December next ensuing, no other service should be allowed than that in use at the death of King Henry.[p]

The Romanists, having thus obtained the legal re-instatement of their religious rites, were not forgetful of the conduct adopted by some among the grosser elements of their party during the season

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 399.

of its depression, and they now naturally feared reprisals. An act, accordingly, was passed, inflicting an imprisonment of three months upon such as should disturb clergymen in using the Romish service, or should molest them on account of any sermon, or should break altars, consecrated wafers, or crucifixes. Not contented with this measure of precaution, the dominant party persuaded the House of Commons to pass a bill by which an attendance at church was in future to be made compulsory. But the Lords appear to have been more tolerant, for they rejected the bill. Both Houses, however, concurred in reviving, even with new clauses rendering it more severe, a statute extorted from King Edward's government by an alarming summer of insurrection[r]. It was pronounced felony in all persons met together for the purpose of making innovations in religion, if they should refuse to disperse, having been required to do so by any one properly authorised for such purpose. The provisions of this act were also extended to those who might assemble for objects unconnected with religion[s]. Thus the merciful intentions displayed by the legislature in the act of repeal which graced its first session were rendered in a great measure nugatory. It now appeared that the government was so far from an inclination to mitigate the rigour of ancient statutes, that it even sought to arm itself with powers un-

[r] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 700.
[s] Ibid. 438, 517.
[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 399.

known till very lately, and under ordinary circumstances both indefensible and unnecessary. No tumult had, however, arisen to justify such a severe measure of precaution. This anxiety, therefore, apparently so superfluous, to stifle opposition in the bud, looks as if a resolution had been taken to pursue a particular line of policy whatever might be the feelings of the nation.

In the House of Commons an animated debate was excited by a motion to repeal the act which legalised the Marquess of Northampton's divorce. The object of those who sought this repeal was evidently to support the papal doctrine which holds the marriage tie to be indissoluble. But the Commons were not yet prepared to go all lengths with the advocates of such opinions. In the bill, accordingly, which passed, nothing is inserted condemnatory of Northampton's divorce as an act sinful in itself. It is merely set forth that in the particular instance under consideration, untrue surmises and private influence had led to a decision likely to injure public morals by undermining the stability of the conjugal state [u].

During this session of Parliament [x] an act of attainder was passed against the persons already con-

[u] Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 219.
Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 400.

[x] The Parliament was dissolved on the 6th of December. In the writs of summons the Queen was styled Supreme Head of the Church of England. Note to the translation of Godwin's Annals in Kennet's Hist. Engl. ii. 337. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 394.

demned for treason, and also against the Lady Jane, her husband, the Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer. The four individuals last named were arraigned in Guildhall, on the 13th of November, when they pleaded guilty. By thus exhibiting Cranmer to the world as a malefactor, his feelings were deeply wounded, and he appealed to his judges for their testimony as to the reluctance with which he had consented to exclude the Queen. He had acted, he said, in that unhappy business, under the advice of eminent lawyers, against his own conviction, and he therefore expressed an earnest hope that he might obtain the royal mercy.[1] This boon could, indeed, scarcely be denied with any shew of decency, for Mary knew herself to be under no small obligations to Cranmer. Probably, however, she never even intended that he should suffer as a traitor; and her object in putting him upon his trial for a political offence might arise from a determination to attaint him, and thus to take at once the archiepiscopal jurisdiction out of his hands.[2] This jurisdiction was in fact exercised shortly after

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 402. Godwin, Annal. 112.

[2] It has been generally believed, that Mary prosecuted Cranmer because she longed to take vengeance upon the judge who annulled her mother's marriage, and to her, in consequence, has been usually applied the passage in which Virgil ascribes a similar feeling in Juno.

——— "Manet alta mente repostum
Judicium,"———
Æn. i. 30.

his attainder by the dean and chapter of Canterbury, as is usual during a vacancy of the see.[1] Cranmer, being returned to his prison, became anxious to make his peace with the Queen. Few men have lived so unhappily, or so virtuously that they can look upon imminent death with perfect indifference. It may, therefore, be supposed, without any derogation to his character, that the Archbishop, in supplicating for mercy, might partly be actuated by a wish for longer life. He naturally shrank also from the disgrace of perishing as a civil delinquent, and he was anxious, besides, to furnish Mary with some explanations which he had good reason to believe she was little likely to hear from her actual advisers. He had been her father's confidential friend during many years, and he had likewise been the principal agent in the religious affairs of King Edward's reign. He was, therefore, qualified, beyond any one then in the royal councils, to supply correct information as to recent ecclesiastical arrangements. He was also versed in theology far more completely than any person about the Queen. Hence he might reasonably calculate upon

[1] On the 10th of December following the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave out commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their names, and by their authority. In such commissions it is stated that the see was vacant, Thomas Cranmer, the last Archbishop thereof, having been convicted of high treason, and attainted. Collier, ii. 354; Harmer, 128.

lightening her prejudices and misconceptions, if she would only permit him to communicate with her. He wrote, accordingly, both to Mary and to the council, in the hope of obtaining his pardon, and

Strype, Mem. Cranm. 459. Cranmer's letter to the Queen is subjoined on account of its historical importance.

"Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your Highness, Thomas Cranmer, although unworthy either to write or to speak unto your Highness, yet having no person that I know to be a mediator for me, and knowing your pitiful ears ready to hear all pitiful complaints, and seeing so many to have felt your abundant clemency in like case, am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart to ask mercy and pardon for my most heinous folly and offence in consenting and following the testament and last will of our late Sovereign Lord K. Edward VI. your Grace's brother. *Which will, God he knoweth, I never liked, nor any thing grieved me so much that your Grace's brother did. And if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to the council, as to himself, divers of your Majesty's council can report: but none so well as the Marquess of Northampton, and the L. Darcy, then Lord Chamberlain to the King's Majesty. Which two were present at the communication between the King's Majesty and me. I desired to talk with the King's Majesty alone, but I could not be suffered: and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the King alone, and at good leisure, my trust was, that I should have altered him from his purpose; but they being present my labour was in vain.* Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will; and both he and his privy council also informed me that the judges and his learned counsel said, that the act of entailing the crown made by his father could not be prejudicial to him; but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will thereof. This seemed very strange unto me. But being the sentence of the judges, and other his counsel, learned in the laws of this realm,

of being encouraged to submit the results of his ex-

as both he and his council informed me, methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my Prince, therein. *And so at length, I was required by the King's Majesty himself to set my hand to his will; saying that he trusted, that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were: which words surely grieved my heart very sore.* And so I granted him to subscribe his will, and to follow the same. Which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation. For the which I submit myself most humbly unto your Majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon. Which my heart giveth me shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many, which travailed not so much to dissuade both the King and his council, as I did.

"And whereas it is contained in two acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I, with the Duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue. For the Duke never opened his mouth to me to move me any such matter, nor his heart was not such toward me, *seeking long time my destruction*, that he would ever trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was other of the council that moved me, and the King himself, the Duke of Northumberland not being present. *Neither before, neither after had I any privy communication with the Duke of that matter*, saving that openly at the council-table, the Duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the King as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said will.

"Now as concerning the state of religion, as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your Highness to license me, I would gladly write my mind unto your Majesty. I will never, God be willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers; which is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind to your Majesty, being a Christian Queen and governor of this realm,

perience to the royal consideration. But his urgent applications wholly failed of success. He was not even gratified by any assurance of pardon; although it has generally been supposed that Mary had resolved to shew him this favour, as an acquittance of those obligations under which he had laid her.

In the writs for summoning the Convocation, her Majesty was styled, according to law, Supreme Head

(of whom I am most assuredly persuaded, that your gracious intent is, above all other regards, to prefer God's true Word, his honour and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your Majesty, then I shall think myself discharged. For it lies not in me, but in your Grace only, to see the reformation of things that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend. Yet nevertheless to shew your Majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methink it my duty, knowing that I do, and considering the place which in time past I have occupied. Yet will I not presume thereunto without your Grace's pleasure first known, and your license obtained. Whereof I, most humbly prostrate to the ground, do beseech your Majesty; and I shall not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your Majesty from all enemies bodily and ghostly, and for the increase of all goodness heavenly and earthly, during my life, as I do, and will do, whatsoever become of me." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 919).

Dr. Lingard (vii. 140) is pleased to insinuate a doubt as to the truth of that statement in this letter which establishes the reluctance of Cranmer to sign King Edward's will. He says, "The Archbishop, *if we may believe his own statement*, had requested a private interview with the King." No doubt a Romish partizan would desire that the whole letter should be disbelieved, for it vindicates the memory of Cranmer, and shews the baseness of Mary's government, in a manner which those who desire to vindicate her and her advisers, cannot find very agreeable.

of the Church of England. The ecclesiastical estate of the southern provinces being assembled, Bishop Boner presided, and his chaplain, Harpsfield, preached. Even this divine's bidding prayer offered many extraordinary features. The hearers were desired to pray for the Queen upon several accounts. To her justly might be applied, it was said, the address of Ozias to Judith: "O daughter, blessed art thou of the most high God, above all the women upon the earth; and blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off of the head of the chief of our enemies[d]." She hath also, it was added, gladdened the hearts of her afflicted people, as Esther did those of the Jews. Her situation might be described in the words, slightly varied, which Deborah used in her own case[e]: "Religion ceased in England, until that I, Mary, arose, a virgin in England." Her choice of religion might be fitly characterised as our Saviour characterised that of an illustrious female who bore her name: "Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her[f]." She might fairly exult as did the blessed Virgin herself, and say, "Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed; for He that is mighty hath done to me great things, and holy is his name[g]." The Lady Elizabeth was then commended to the

[c] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 199.
[d] Judith xiii. 18.
[e] Judges v. 7.
[f] St. Luke x. 42.
[g] Ibid. i. 48.

people's prayers; but of her nothing laudatory was added. When, however, the prelacy was mentioned, Gardiner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day, were eulogized at considerable length. Upon his own patron, Bonner, probably by desire, the preacher uttered no encomium.

The sermon, which was preached from St. Paul's exhortation, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock[h]," contained the following matter. "The apostle took heed to himself by keeping his body under, and by avoiding flattery, covetousness, and vain-glory. He took heed to the flock by preaching sound doctrine, by diligently preserving it from wolves, and by providing it with fit ministers. Now those who have lately tended the flock of Christ among us are belly-gods, given up to junketings, and to the pampering of their carcases. They are unchaste, taking unto themselves wives, even some who had lived single for threescore years. They are flatterers, insinuating themselves into the favour of courtiers. They are covetous, keeping no hospitality. They are vain-glorious, vaunting themselves as able to understand holy Scripture not less completely than did the ancient fathers. Some of them from a shop, endued with no liberal discipline, not so much as grammar, would mount the pulpit, and there pass as learned men, if they did but rail against whatever is holy, and boast that they had the Spirit. There is no vice of the laity, but these men are guilty of it. As for their doctrine, they may well repent,

[h] Acts xx. 28.

and be ashamed of it. How did they tear the Lord's flock; how many souls did they send to hell; how many pernicious novelties did they bring into the kingdom! As for the instructors provided by these men for the Lord's flock, it is notorious that many of them were coblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beggars, jesters; people fitter for the plough-tail, than for the ministry of God's word[1]."

[1] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 462, Eccl. Mem. iii. 60, from a contemporary publication printed by Cawood, the Queen's printer.

Harpsfield's assertion, that some clergymen, recently ordained, had exercised secular employments, is correct; but it should be observed, that the persons generally who had lately taken orders were not of that description; that there is no sufficient reason why such persons, if sufficiently qualified, should absolutely be excluded from the ministry at any time; and that the difficulty of finding unexceptionable men for ecclesiastical appointments was, in Edward's reign, very great. Dr. Martin, the violent controversialist against clerical marriages, attributes the recent eclipse of his own church, to the unworthiness of her ministers. The following extract is made from his address to the Queen, prefixed to his Treatise against the marriage of Priests: "It is to be lamented, to see so honourable an office, by the unworthiness of the ministers, so greatly abused, and through the lack of reputation in the ministers, both the heavenly mysteries profaned, the holy word despised, and God himself highly dishonoured. For doubtless it is an assured token, the fear of God there to have no place, where the love of his ministry is not; as the Gospel affirmeth Christ there to be nothing regarded, where his ministers be despised. But if a man will diligently examine the ground hereof, and see whose contempt first drew with him the despising of the other; I think, if one examine the matter well, he shall find the contempt of Christ's true religion to have issued forth of the contempt of his ministration. But yet if you will search nearer, what was the cause of this loss of estimation in the whole order; I take it to have risen chiefly of the unability and unworthiness

Besides hearing this discourse, the Convocation transacted no business, during its first session, beyond the choice of a prolocutor. This fell upon Dr. Hugh Weston, the new Dean of Westminster[k], a forward immoral man[l], of shewy parts and attain-

of priests. For first, where is unability, there is none auctority; where lacketh auctority, there doth contempt consequently arise. Then the unworthiness of priests have caused, through the misliving of the evil, the good to be slandered, and not only the persons, but also the office itself to be evil reported of such which have sought rather to pick quarrels unto their wealth, than tendered the redress of the evils wherewith they were charged. The cause of this unworthiness, I judge to have proceeded of the covetousness of patrons; which, either for friendship more than for learning, or for goods more than goodness, elected many into that holy orders, not of age, nor of learning, nor of discretion worthy to take so high a function upon them. Many so chosen and elected, passing more of the fleece than for the flock, not able to rule for lack of age, not able to preach for lack of learning, not able to counsel others for lack of wit in themselves, lived so dissolutely, that they did more hurt with their evil example in infecting others, than in their evil doing wherewith they did hurt themselves. For the heretics, when all other persuasions failed, took hereof, as it were a ready demonstration, to seduce the simple and silly people, in noting to them the dissolute life of the spirituality, and pretending thereby a medicine to heal the said sore, gave them present poison to destroy the whole body."

[k] Dr. Weston was installed, on the deprivation of Cox, the late king's tutor, on the 18th of September. In 1556, he vacated this deanery, and received, in exchange for it, that of Windsor. Feckenham, having under him a society of Benedictine monks, then took possession of Westminster Abbey. Le Neve, 364.

[l] Weston's profligacy became, at length so notorious, that, after about a year's possession of his deanery of Windsor, Cardinal Pole found it necessary to deprive him of that preferment (Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 174. Le Neve, 376.) In an intem-

ments; then a considerable favourite with the Queen[m]. He possessed, indeed, a claim upon Mary's good opinion which few of her advisers could advance, for he had never complied during the last reign[n]. To this recommendation, Pye, soon afterwards installed Dean of Chichester[o], adverted in presenting him to the Upper House. He likewise characterized the new Prolocutor as a man deeply versed in Holy Scripture, of singular experience, prudence, and wisdom, and of a pious, flowing elocution[p]. Wymmesley, Archdeacon of London, who shared with Pye the honour of offering Weston for approval by the prelacy, described the object of the clergy's choice as one certain of approbation from their Lord-

perate publication wrung from some Protestant during the fury of the Marian persecution, occurs the following coarse language respecting this unworthy clergyman: "As for Dr. Weston, that bawdy ruffian, of his shameless and abominable living it is not unknown. And whether he were wont to go in mummeries and masks among the merchants of London, he himself cannot deny it, or at the least, his companions that were in his company at those times can testify. Is he meet to be a commissioner in matters of weight, or to be the Prolocutor in the Convocation House?" (A Supplication to the Queen's Majesty, Lond. 1555, p. 12.) The name of Cawood, the royal printer, is affixed to this pamphlet, but most probably without any authority. The piece, in fact, could not fail of being considered as a libel by the ruling powers. Nor can it be altogether justified. But great allowances are fairly demandable for the exasperation of men who are groaning under the most intolerable oppression.

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 65.

[n] Ibid.

[o] December 21, 1553. Le Neve, 60.

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 66.

ships; a man, indeed, wonderfully and notably prudent, of much quickness and dexterity, famous for all virtue, and renowned through Britain [q]. Weston replied to this profusion of unmeasured eulogy by a declamatory speech composed in elegant Latin. Among his rhetorical flowers, as might be expected, some of the gayest specimens were showered upon the Queen. "O! the unheard-of, the admirable goodness of God!" rapturously exclaimed the eloquent Prolocutor: "Did ever any thing happen more wonderful in so great a mass of sorrows, in such a swarm of afflictions, in so complete a ruin of the church, in such an utter shipwreck of the faith, the concerns of religion having been reduced to all but desperation, than that a virgin queen, as if sent down from heaven, like some propitious deity, be bestowed upon the virgin church, under whose auspices and guidance these things so miserable, so calamitous, and iniquitous are repressed, dissipated, expelled." Encomiums were then passed upon Mary's erudition, courage, constancy, diligence, and magnanimity. "Nor," it was added, "is it a slight omen or presage of happiness to the church, that by some fate, assuredly not by design, her Majesty's brows were graced by the royal diadem on the very day which is ordinarily devoted to the dedication of churches." No one of Mary's qualities, however, is extolled more highly than her favour towards the bishops of her own party. England is pronounced most happy in having such a queen, supremely blest

[q] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 67.

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in having such bishops. Of these prelates, it is said, under a very liberal use of the rhetorical figure, called hyperbole, that her Majesty had drawn them "from the foulest dungeons and squalidness; that they had been no-wise alarmed by the judgment-seat, the executioner, the multiplied torments, the menaces which announced innumerable deaths, the judge who breathed fire from his mouth, the adversaries who gnashed with their teeth and were eagerly bent upon numberless other modes of insulting, the so great calumnies, the most impudent accusations, the death which stared them daily in the face." They were then exhorted to rejoice, exult, be strong, and acquit themselves like men. They were entreated to restore the clergy of England to their ancient importance, not allowing the learnedest men in the country to come together, and then to find their suffrages of no weight; as had been, it was intimated, the recent usage." "All things have been effected," said the orator, "without our advice, much more then, without our consent. How piously and happily the end will shew. I cannot, however, easily describe how greatly we have reason to congratulate ourselves, that no vote of ours obtruded upon men the book of Common Prayer, as they called it, besprinkled, as it is, all over with blasphemies, crammed full of errors, which, under the name of religion, takes away religion, which, by diminishing the sacraments, condemns the whole world[r]."

[r] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Appendix, 182.

Among the assembled clergy, no individuals were present, as it seems, favourable to the Reformation, who were not either deans or archdeacons, dignitaries: entitled to seats in the lower house. From this it has been inferred, that pains were taken to prevent the return of any delegates adverse to Romanism. The members who discovered this feeling were Walter Philips, Dean of Rochester; James Haddon, Dean of Exeter; John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester; John Aylmer, Archdeacon of Stow; Richard Cheney, Archdeacon of Hereford; and another, said to be Thomas Young, Precentor of St. David's[s]. Business was begun on the 18th of October, by the Prolocutor Weston, who said that her Majesty desired the clergy to discuss the state of religion, and that she, together with the parliament, would ratify their decisions. The first questions proposed for discussion were the forty-two articles, and the book of Common Prayer. Of these, the former were designated, as "pestiferous and full of heresies;" the latter, as "very abominable." With the mention of the articles was joined inaccurately, perhaps invidiously, that of the catechism, published with them, under royal authority, a short time before King Edward's death[t]. Weston appears to

[s] Foxe leaves the sixth Protestant un-named. Burnet says that Young was the man, but he cites no authority. The statement, however, is upon the face of it highly probable, for Young resigned the precentorship of St. David's before the end of this year, and in 1559, he was advanced to the see of David's. Le Neve, 514, 515.

[t] Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 756.]

have represented that the two pieces, as printed, equally pretended to have been sanctioned by the Convocation*. He then informed his hearers that they would be called upon, in the first place, to discuss the doctrine of transubstantiation, and he named the following Friday, being the 20th, for considering that question.

On the appointed day, Dr. Weston offered to the House two bills, already signed by himself; one affirming transubstantiation, the other condemning the Catechism and Articles as unsound, and unauthorised by any Convocation. Excepting the six individuals mentioned above, these bills were subscribed unanimously. Philpot, in vindication of himself and his five friends, first gave some explanation as to the volume containing the Catechism and Arti-

* Foxe's relation as to this preliminary business is involved. An inaccuracy has, indeed, evidently been fallen into by either him or by Weston or both of them. The following is the title of the book offered by Weston to the consideration of the House: "Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens, omnibus ludimagistris authoritate regia commendatus. Huic catechismo adjuncti sunt articuli, de quibus in ultima Synodo Londinensi, Anno Dom. 1552, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, &c. inter episcopos, et alios eruditos viros convenerat, regia similiter authoritate promulgati." The title-page, therefore, of this book does not assert that the catechism had any pretension to synodical authority. That Weston's attention was chiefly directed to the articles, which do make this claim, must be inferred from these words of his which follow. "I thought it best first to begin with the *Articles of the Catechism*, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation." Foxe, 1282. Archbishop Laurence's Bamp. Lect. 224.

cles. "As for transubstantiation," he added, "it is unreasonable, unworthy of learned men, and injurious to the cause of truth, that such a doctrine should be affirmed without a full examination and discussion. This House, however, as at present constituted, scarcely perhaps affords the means of duly arguing the question. Here are assembled many divines of advanced age and extensive acquirements, who have adopted a belief in the corporal presence. We who deny that doctrine are in number no more than five or six, and neither in age nor in learning are we fairly matched with the contrary side. I propose, therefore, that the Prolocutor be instructed to request their lordships to procure the attendance here of such as compiled the Catechism and Articles, in order that we may hear from their own mouths the grounds of those doctrines which they have set forth in these pieces. I propose also, that he request the attendance of Dr. Ridley, Mr. Rogers, and two or three more, able to render effective assistance in arguing the point upon which the House is expected to deliver an opinion." These propositions appearing reasonable, an application, founded upon them, was made to the Upper House. The bishops replied, that they had no power to command the attendance of the parties named, some of them being in custody; but that they would communicate the clergy's desire to the council[v]. Upon the receipt of

[v] Another portion of the reply made by the bishops must be given in Foxe's own words, the sense of it not being clear. "And in case any were absent that ought to be of the house, they (the bishops) willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed."

this answer, a debate was immediately proposed. A messenger, however, entered, signifying that the Earl of Devonshire, and the Lord Great Master, desired to hear the disputation. The House, in consequence, adjourned until the following Monday, at one o'clock.

On that day a very large and distinguished auditory having assembled, the Prolocutor asked Haddon, whether he would argue in defence of his avowed opinion. The Dean answered, that he would not, inasmuch as the assistance craved by his party had been refused. Aylmer gave a similar answer, adding, that the majority, by subscribing without any discussion, had already prejudged the question. Cheney said, that he admitted the real presence, but denied transubstantiation; grounding his opinion upon St. Paul, Origen, Theodoret, and other ancients, who speak of the sacramental elements as if unchanged in substance. To these objections it was replied, that St. Paul, in terming the Eucharist bread, means, "that it is the sacrament of bread, that is, in the form of bread;" and interpretations upon logical principles were put upon a passage alleged from Theodoret. Against this mode of extracting senses from ordinary works of theology, by

This passage looks as if representations were made that some undue influence had been used to prevent the return of members obnoxious to the court party, or even to prevent such persons, though returned, from taking their seats. Foxe's account, it should be observed, appears to have been copied *verbatim* from a relation furnished by some member of the Convocation actually present, for in one place we find the phrase "*our* house."

means of dialectic subtleties, first Aylmer, then Philpot, argued. The latter, indeed, placed in so clear a light the folly and the fallacy of that logical exposition which had been advanced, that Moreman, from whom it proceeded, was fairly reduced to silence. The Archdeacon, seeing this, said, "Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again." This sarcasm irritated Weston, who thus addressed the speaker: "Do not brag here; you shall be fully answered." The other replied, "That is all I require; but I feel perfectly sure that you will never be able to answer me, if you confine yourself to the plain sense of Theodoret's words." He was then ordered to keep silence. Philips, Dean of Rochester, alleged against transubstantiation, that our Lord said, "Ye have the poor always with you, but me ye have not always[w]." Weston replied, "That text means, Christians will always have opportunities of bestowing alms upon the poor, but they will not always have such opportunities with respect to their blessed Master." "Nay," rejoined the Dean, "St. Austin expounds our Lord's words differently. He says, that Jesus then spake of his presence in the body." An attempt was made to answer this by citing other passages from St. Austin, which purport that we have not Christ upon earth now as he was before his passion. "Undoubtedly not," was the reply; "Jesus was corporally present in the world before he suffer-

[w] St. Matt. xxvi. 11.

ed. His presence now is spiritual; and such is the whole scope of St. Austin's words." A desultory conversation followed, which was ended by the following question put by Philips to Moreman: "Do you believe that our Lord, at his last paschal supper, ate his own natural body?" The other answered, "Yea." The Dean merely said, "You have granted a great absurdity;" and immediately sat down. Philpot, however, arose, and advanced the following syllogism, in confutation of Moreman's absurd concession. "To the receiving of Christ's body is annexed the promise of remission of sins: Christ eating the Sacrament had no promise of remission of sin: *ergo*, Christ, in the Sacrament, did not eat his own body." Moreman replied to this by denying the first proposition. "The following," said Philpot, "are our Lord's own words: *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins*[x]." His opponent objected, "These words are not a promise." "Well then," asked Philpot, "what say you to this speech of our Lord's: *The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world*[y]." Moreman endeavoured to evade a direct consideration of this text; on which Harpsfield said, "Ye mistake the promise annexed to the receiving of Christ's body. This appertaineth not to our Saviour, but to his disciples. His words are, '*This is my body which is given for you*[z].'" "The very

[x] St. Matt. xxvi. 28.
[y] St. John vi. 51.
[z] St. Luke xxii. 19.

text," said Philpot, "most completely for my purpose. The promise as to Christ's body took no effect in himself: *ergo*, he ate not his own body." The Prolocutor then interposed, saying, "That argument is good for nothing. If it had any weight, you might use it to prove that Christ was never baptized; for to baptism is annexed the remission of sins. Our Lord, however, was free from sin." Philpot added, "The principle upon which Jesus was both baptized and ate the Sacrament, was to set an example to his Church. He had no need of either ordinance." It was now night, and therefore an adjournment was proposed until the following Wednesday, when Philpot undertook to bring forward fresh arguments against transubstantiation.

He came, on that day, provided with a declaration as to the true manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and with a dozen arguments against transubstantiation; the whole being composed in Latin, according to the orders heretofore given. When, however, he proposed to deliver his declaration, Weston forbade him; saying, that he could not be suffered to make an oration upon any subject, and that he must argue in English. "All this is somewhat hard upon me, Master Prolocutor," said Philpot; "for you told me openly in this house, that I had no learning. I have, therefore, drawn up a brief declaration of my opinions, in order that, wherever I am wrong, I may be corrected by those who are more learned than myself. I have also prepared all my arguments in Latin, in obedience to your former injunctions, and I am sorely disappointed in finding

that you now refuse to hear me in that language. However, I shall conform to your orders. I will lay my oration aside, and come to my arguments, which I shall endeavour to put into as good a form in English, as the suddenness of the call will allow." The Archdeacon then proceeded to say, that he denied not Christ's presence in the Sacrament duly administered, but only that gross and carnal presence which his adversaries maintained. Before he had finished this explanation, Weston interrupted him, and desired that he would begin at once upon his argument. Philpot then fell upon his knees, and turning to the persons of distinction, who were present as auditors in considerable numbers, besought their interposition for gaining him a patient hearing. This was readily granted, but the Prolocutor proved inexorable. "Hold your peace," said he, "or else make a short argument." The Archdeacon replied, "I will do so immediately, but first I would just learn from Dr. Chadsey, my respondent, exactly what he means, when he speaks of the sacrament of the altar." Chadsey said, that he understood that phrase as synonymous with the sacrament of the mass. "Then," said Philpot, "I will speak plain English, as Master Prolocutor orders me. And I say that this sacrament of the mass, once justly abolished, and now put into full use again, is no sacrament at all. Nor is Christ present in it in any wise. These mine assertions I am ready to prove before the whole house. Or I will undertake to prove them before the Queen's grace, and her most honourable council, against any six of the learnedest men in this house, who hold a contrary

opinion. And if I shall not be able to maintain by God's word what I have said, and to confound the six who may take upon themselves to withstand me; then let me be burned before the palace gates with as many faggots as there are in London." This ebullition excited a considerable clamour, and Weston said that the Archdeacon was mad, and must be committed, if he did not hold his peace. A debate followed, in which Philpot, with unfailing spirit and acuteness, answered every objection that was brought forward against him. At last Pye whispered something in the Prolocutor's ear; on which that officer said; "Master Philpot, you have argued long enough. Let another now come, and take your place." The Archdeacon replied: "Why Sir, I have a dozen arguments to bring forward, and I have yet scarcely gotten through one. I have not yet brought forth any confirmations of my arguments out of ancient writers; whereof I have many." Weston was, however, determined upon putting him down, and after some altercation, he threatened him with a prison, if any more were said by him. A discussion followed between other speakers, which led to nothing remarkable. The day, however, closed with a circumstance highly mortifying to the Romish party, for Perne, who had already subscribed to the article in favour of transubstantiation, publicly retracted that opinion.

After an interval of two days the debate was resumed, as it was again on the following Monday. Nor even then did the contention cease, but fresh objections to the Romish doctrine were brought for-

ward from day to day, until the Convocation was dissolved. Philpot appears to have been present only upon the first two days in this series. He seems to have attended the House without the ordinary habiliments of his profession, and upon this ground to have been excluded from his seat. After an arduous disputation, on the 30th of October, one of the Romish party whispered in Weston's ear. The Prolocutor immediately thus addressed Philpot: "Lest you should slander the House, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the House as you have done before, so that you be apparelled in a long gown and tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak but when I command you." The Archdeacon replied, "Then I would rather be absent altogether." During the two days in which he attended, he maintained his opinions with all his former ingenuity, heat, and vehemence. For his conduct in the last two particulars an excuse may be found, however, in the treatment which he received. It had evidently been determined by the dominant party to break down opposition by browbeating and intimidation. This policy naturally hurried a man of Philpot's temperament into bursts of feeling which gave an advantage to his opponents. But it was an advantage flowing from his manner alone. In his arguments he constantly shewed himself more than a match for any of his adversaries[a]. At last, in the Upper House of Convocation, in which no prelate

[a] Foxe, 1288.

adverse to Romanism had then an opportunity of sitting, four points were defined bearing upon the question which had been discussed by the inferior clergy. First, it was decided that, in the sacrament of the altar, rightly administered, the Lord's body is truly, really, and substantially present under the appearances of bread, and of wine mingled with water; that, in either the bread, or the cup, separately, Christ is completely contained, and received; that, therefore, the usage of administering in one kind only to laymen, and to clergymen not consecrating, is to be retained in the English church, as having been introduced for important reasons, and very long observed. Secondly, was affirmed the substantial transition of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, "the accidents of the bread and wine remaining, on account of human infirmity, and the signification of the mystery:" a transition believed from ancient times in the Catholic church, and aptly called by the Lateran fathers *transubstantiation;* a new word to which they gave currency, as the Nicene fathers did to the word *consubstantiation.* Thirdly, it was asked as to adoring the Eucharist, since we confess the corporal presence of Christ in that sacrament, how shall we refrain from adoring it; the Lord himself having received adoration from his disciples, as was justly his due? It was added, that authors and councils of very high antiquity mention the reservation of the Eucharist for the use of sick persons, and that the Lord's body and blood remain in the elements thus reserved, so long as they defy corrup-

tion. Fourthly, it was affirmed that, as on the holy table is placed the lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, so an unbloody sacrifice is offered there for the whole body of Christians, whether dead or living, absent or present; and also for the particular benefit of individuals [c].

During the winter, much speculation arose as to a suitable marriage for the Queen. Bishop Gardiner advocated the pretensions of Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire; and his endeavours were not only backed by the influence of France, but also by a great majority at home. The young peer, however, seems early to have lost his hold upon the affections of Mary. Nor, in truth, does it appear that he possessed any attractions beyond the accidental advantages of illustrious birth and personal comeliness. He was addicted to low dissipation, and was, besides, suspected of some leaning towards the Reformation [d]; a bias most odious to the Queen. She must, indeed,

[b] It does not seem to be asserted that ancient authorities maintain the latter part of this article. The following are the original words: "Et cum semel consecratum hoc sacramentum in usum infirmorum, ne sine communione discedant, (quod ex vetustissimis authoribus et conciliis constat antiquitus fieri consuevisse,) manet tamen, quandiu incorrupte supersunt species, sacramentum et corpus et sanguis Domini donec sumatur."

[c] "These four points were defined by the Upper-House, as I transcribed them out of a record of this Convocation, which Archbishop Parker, as it seems, communicated to Mr. Foxe: to be sure, the paper was in the possession of the said Archbishop, on which are inserted these words by his own hand, *Hæc in synodo episcoporum.*" Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 73.

[d] Godwin. Annal. 113. Noailles, ii. 219.

have resolved soon after her accession to marry the prince of Spain. For an address voted by the Commons, at the end of October, which intreated her to seek a husband among her own nobility, drew forth immediately a decided, though a secret, avowal of her intentions as to Philip. She clandestinely sent, on the same evening, for the imperial minister, conducted him into her private oratory, knelt before the consecrated wafer there, recited the hymn, *Come Holy Ghost*, in Latin, and then called God to witness that she solemnly pledged herself to her cousin Philip [e]. As this romantic incident was only known to the favoured individual invited to witness it, to the regular depositaries of his diplomatic secrets, to Mary herself, and to her most intimate confidants, intrigue and importunity in favour of a native husband, continued to disquiet the royal breast. At length her Majesty, after an interval of indisposition, designedly prolonged, received the Commons [f], and in answer to their address, informed them, that as her predecessors had been used to select their own spouses, she must be allowed the same privilege. Opposition to her will was now found to be hopeless, and on the 2nd of January an embassy from the court of Austria, charged with the conduct of a matrimonial treaty, landed at the Tower-wharf, under a very honourable salute from the batteries. The Lord Deputy of Calais attended the strangers into England, and rode with them through the

[e] Lingard, vii. 197. from Griffet.
[f] November 17. Noailles, ii. 256.

metropolis. In Fenchurch-street, they were met by the Earl of Devonshire, and several other persons of quality, who conducted them to their lodgings, at Durham House, in the Strand. On the following day they received a visit from the Lord Mayor and Chamberlain of London, who presented them with viands and wine. The 9th of the month was occupied by a splendid banquet given to the foreigners, and to the council, by the Lord Chancellor Gardiner. When the next morning dawned, the party took to horse, and with more spirit than humanity plied the chace at Hampton Court[g]. In that place, a magnificent display of convivial hospitality awaited their return from the hunting-field. On the 15th of January, the business which this embassy had come over to effect, was announced, at Westminster, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The Chancellor, who addressed the civic authorities with his usual eloquence, spoke of her Majesty's marriage as likely to prove highly advantageous to England, and he added, that due precautions should be taken against Philip's interference in the national affairs[h].

The matrimonial treaty is, indeed, highly honourable to Gardiner as an English statesman. It was agreed in it, that Philip should bear the title of King, and should have his name joined with the Queen's on coins and seals, and in writs; but that

[g] "As the journal-writer expresseth it, *they killed tag and rag with hands and swords.*" Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 91.

[h] Ibid.

Mary's hand, without her husband's, was to be a sufficient authority. Spaniards were to be excluded from civil offices, and from situations about the court. The laws were to continue unaltered, and pleadings were still to be in English. The Queen was not to be taken out of England without her consent. Any children born from the marriage were not to be sent abroad without permission from the nobility. Should the Queen survive Philip, she was to receive from his hereditary dominions an annual pension of sixty thousand pounds. To male issue arising from this marriage was assigned the reversion to England, the Netherlands, and Burgundy. Should Philip lose his only son, Charles, the progeny sprung from his marriage with Mary was to inherit all the dominions of both father and mother. If Mary should bear daughters only, they were to inherit her own dominions, and also the Netherlands, provided that they married with the consent of their half-brother. If no issue should arise from this marriage, Philip was not to pretend to any of the Queen's dominions; but these were to devolve upon her heirs, according to the laws of England[1].

Upon the fairness of these terms there could be no doubt, but that consideration was not sufficient to satisfy the English people. It was evident that all hope of religious toleration must be abandoned, if this marriage should take effect. No man of sense could persuade himself that even the mitigated Romanism of King Henry's reign would seem endura-

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 419.

ble to the Austrian family; hence a general conviction prevailed that papal myrmidons and inquisitors would come over in Philip's train. Against these evils the Queen's character was thought to offer no security whatever. She had already broken, it was said, the promises as to religion, which she made while her possession of the throne appeared insecure; it is, therefore, to be expected that when her power is thoroughly cemented by means of this foreign alliance, she will readily give ear to every suggestion of tyrannical bigotry. The popular discontent was also increased by considerations merely political. Men viewed the proposed marriage as a fatal blow to the national independence: which could never be maintained, it was thought, against the whole strength of the Austrian monarchy. Nor was it doubted that Philip was equally ready to grasp and to abuse any power that might come within his reach. His family was, indeed, represented as notorious for the most arbitrary conduct. In Europe the Austrian government was painted as bad enough, but in America no man doubted that it was infamous and intolerable. This general feeling of uneasiness incited people to think that the throne was improperly filled. It was even currently reported that King Edward still survived. In some companies, the Lady Jane's pretensions were canvassed with unusual interest. Others looked upon the Lady Elizabeth as the sheet-anchor of England's hope[k].

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 419. Godwin. Annal. 114. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 202. Proceedings of Privy Council, 53.

The popular mind being thus prepared for change, an insurrection was concerted among a few persons of distinction. The Duke of Suffolk engaged to raise the standard of rebellion in the midland counties, Sir Thomas Wyat undertook a similar enterprise in Kent, and Sir Peter Carew was to do the same in Cornwall. Carew's operations were, however, discovered in the outset, and he saved himself by a hasty flight to France. Wyat, being apprised of this untoward circumstance, resolved upon trying the effect of promptitude, and he quickly found himself at the head of a formidable assemblage. At Maidstone he issued a proclamation, in which he stated himself to have no other object than to preserve the national independence, by setting aside that insidious foreign connexion, against which all the council, with only two or three exceptions, had contended. As to religion he said nothing; but private assurances were given to some who enquired his sentiments upon that head, that he was favourably disposed towards the Reformation. In the hope of arresting his progress, the Duke of Norfolk was hastily despatched from London, but finding his troops unequal to face the rebels, he soon retraced his steps. Intelligence of this retreat having arrived in the capital, and a great ferment being excited there, Mary went to Guildhall; and after painting the revolt in the blackest colours, she said, that as her intended marriage was made the ostensible pretence for it, she was willing to forego that measure, if such a sacrifice should appear advantageous to her subjects. At the same time five hundred

men, chiefly foreigners, were posted on the Surrey side of London-bridge. These troops prevented Wyat's entrance into the city. He marched to Southwark without opposition, and remained there two days, hoping that the citizens on the opposite side of the river would make some active demonstrations in his favour. Being disappointed, however, in this expectation, he advanced to Kingston, for the purpose of crossing the river there. Having reached that place, he found thirty feet of the bridge broken down. A hasty repair soon overcame this difficulty, and no farther impediment arrested his progress towards London. It was about nine o'clock in the morning of Ash-Wednesday when he arrived at Hyde Park. The Queen awaited his approach with a degree of firmness that does her credit. Some of her friends advised her to take refuge in the Tower, but she refused to remove from Whitehall, or even to intermit the customary devotions there. Some of Wyat's principal companions wished him to march onwards by the upper road, through Holborn, as being the less frequented way to the city; but he chose rather to parade his men by Charing-Cross, along the Strand, and Fleet-street; within a stone's cast of the royal palace, and past the very portals of the chief nobility. This march, however, effectually blighted his hopes. At Charing-Cross, he found a body of men posted to guard the avenues of the palace. Another troop hung upon his rear. He reached Ludgate attended by not more than five hundred followers, and they were in great disorder. The gate being closed and guarded,

his courage wholly failed him. He stopped awhile by the entrance to the Belle Sauvage Inn, and then mournfully retreated towards Temple-bar. The clarenceux king at arms there persuaded him to surrender, by representing to him the hopelessness of resistance, and the additional guilt that he would contract by causing a needless effusion of blood [1].

[1] Ibid. Stow. Holinshed. Wyat surrendered on the 7th of February. Stow and Heylin say that Poynet, the displaced Bishop of Winchester, was with Wyat, until the time when a cannon broke down, between Kingston and London; which causing a delay, some of the insurgents took to flight, and among them the prelate. Dr. Lingard has adopted this statement. After mentioning the accident which happened to the cannon, he says, "The chief of his (Wyat's) advisers, abandoned him in despair. Among these was Poynet, the Protestant Bishop of Winchester, who now hastened to the continent." (Hist. Engl. vii. 217.) Bishop Burnet observes as to the current account of Poynet's presence in Wyat's army: "This is certainly false, for so many prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out and published, to make that religion more odious; and we cannot think but Gardiner would have taken care that he should be attainted in the following Parliament." (Hist. Ref. ii. 423). It is not improbable, that the report of Poynet's presence arose from the fact that a book, attributed on good grounds to him, was subsequently published, but without his knowledge or consent, as it seems; in which political questions are very freely handled. The piece is entitled, *A Treatise of Political Power, and of* the *True Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings and other Civil Governors.* The author pronounces arbitrary power an invention of the devil, and cites the Spartan Ephori, and the Roman Tribunes, (he might have added the Aragonese *Justiza,*) as precedents for imposing checks upon the exercise of the supreme authority. He maintains, that "in all Christian realms, and dominions, God has ordained means that the heads, the princes, and governors should not op-

Upon the first appearance of Wyat's success in Kent, the Duke of Suffolk repaired to the district assigned to his care, and endeavoured to raise the peasantry by circulating inflammatory representations against the Spanish match. His exertions, however, proved unavailing; and the Earl of Huntingdon approaching with a troop of horse, he distributed his money among his followers, which were about fifty in number, and consulted his own safety by flight. He sought concealment in the house of one who had been in his service, but the man betrayed him, and on the 11th of February he arrived at the Tower, in custody [m].

Unimportant as this rebellion had proved, it gave occasion to frightful severities. When first established upon the throne Mary had humanely refused to sacrifice the Lady Jane, although that measure

press the people after their lusts." He therefore imputes negligence and breach of trust to inferior authorities, if they do not rise upon tyrannical sovereigns, and rescue the people from their oppressions. This reasoning he applies to England, and he glances intelligibly enough at the Queen. The tract undoubtedly contains indefensible positions, such, it may be hoped, as the author would never have allowed to appear, had he published his work himself. But great allowances are justly demandable for the acts of a man reduced for conscience' sake alone from opulence to beggary. Nor is it to be forgotten that Queen Mary's government was such as could hardly fail to hurry free reasoners upon politics into speculative indiscretions. The talents and attainments of Bishop Poynet were of no mean extent. He died in exile, at Strasburg, in August, 1556, being only forty years of age. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 535. Collier, ii. 363. Godwin, de Præsul. 238.

[m] Godwin, Annal. 116.

had been strongly recommended by the imperial ministers[n]. On the day, however, following that of Wyat's caption, warrants were signed for the execution of both Jane[o] and her husband. Intelligence of her approaching fate was communicated to the former by Feckenham, the Queen's chaplain, who zealously laboured to bring about her apostasy from a scriptural faith. But Jane was neither alarmed nor distracted by the prospect of imminent dissolution. She received Feckenham's announcement with perfect equanimity; her powers of arguing even not suffering, as it seems, the slightest interruption. She reasoned upon justification by faith, and defended that doctrine from the imputation of encouraging immorality, with all the acuteness of one whose mind was mature, and whose anticipations were unclouded. Feckenham then turned his attention to transubstantiation, uncritically pressing her, according to custom, with Christ's words at the Last Supper. Jane replied, "Our Lord also called himself a door, and a vine; but in truth he was neither the one nor the other of these things." Her opponent urged, that in persisting to interpret figuratively the Saviour's words in instituting the Eucharist, she grounded her faith upon uncertain authorities, and not upon the Church. The youthful disputant answered, "I ground my faith upon God's

[n] Lingard, vii. 172, from Griffet.

[o] "*Though no part of the late conspiracy was imputed to her.* See her letter to the Queen, copied from the original, in the British Museum, and communicated by the Rev. Dr. Birch." Neve's Animad. 485.

word, by which the faith of the Church must be tried; and not God's word by the Church, or my faith either. Shall I believe the Church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to that Church which taketh from me one half of the Lord's Supper? I say, that is an evil Church, not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, which both taketh from the Lord's Supper, and addeth to it. To that Church, I say, God will add plagues, and he will blot it out of the book of life." At last, after repeated endeavours, all hope of perverting Jane being abandoned, Feckenham thus uncharitably took his leave of her. "Madam, I am sorry for you; I am sure that we two shall never meet hereafter." The following was her reply: "True it is, we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I feel well assured, that, unless you repent, and turn to God, you are in an evil case; and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit. He hath given you a great gift of utterance, and you might do him good service, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart[p]."

On Monday, the 12th of February, Jane and her husband met their unmerited and untimely fate. The Lord Guilford would fain have had a parting interview with his youthful spouse on the previous evening; but Jane declined the melancholy pleasure. They soon should permanently rejoin each other, she said, in a better place. While on the very brink of their awful struggle into this unseen abode of peace,

[p] Foxe, 1290.

it was better, therefore, that they should remain at a distance from each other: a meeting might unnerve and distract them both. Guilford suffered on a scaffold without the Tower, and as he passed onward to it, his admirable wife indulged herself with a dying gaze upon his form from the window of her prison. For a moment the mournful spectacle overcame her fortitude, but she quickly rallied, and again displayed that enviable composure by which Providence had so kindly mitigated her sorrows. On her way to the place of execution she met the cart which conveyed her husband's headless trunk to the chapel; but she had ceased to think on the departed youth as a sojourner upon earth, and she passed by his mangled remains without any visible emotion. Jane paid the forfeit of follies not her own upon a scaffold erected within the Tower. She mounted it with intrepidity, and thus addressed the persons assembled to witness her departure: "I am come hither, good Christian people, to die for the commission of an unlawful act. I consented to take that which belonged to the Queen's Highness; but as to the desire or procurement thereof, I do wash my hands in innocency, this day, in the sight of God, and before you all. Bear me witness, I beseech you, good friends, that I die a true Christian, and that I hope for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. I confess that I have known the Word of God, and yet that I have at the same time neglected it, loving myself and the world, rather than the health of my own soul. Worthily and happily, therefore, has this plague and punishment overtaken me. I thank,

however, most heartily, my gracious God, that he has allowed me time for repentance. And now, good people, assist me, I beseech you, with your prayers." She then knelt down, and repeated the fifty-first Psalm in English. Having finished it she arose, gave her gloves and handkerchief to a female attendant, and untied her gown. The executioner would have helped her off with this, but she gently put him aside, and accepted the assistance of two gentlemen who stood by. Her neck being bared, the executioner knelt down, and entreated her forgiveness. "You have it most willingly," she replied. He then begged her to step into some straw, which stood before her. Having complied, she saw the block, but nothing moved, she merely said, "I pray you, despatch me quickly;" and immediately she knelt down. "Will you," she then said to the executioner, "take it off before I lay me down?" He replied, "No, Madam." Her next care was to bind a handkerchief over her eyes; which being effected, she bent her body forward, and groped about for the block. She now evidently became agitated; for not readily meeting with the object of her search, she said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Immediately her neck was guided to the point; on which she stretched her frame along, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." In an instant after this the uplifted axe and gushing blood informed every streaming eye around that the youthful victim was no longer within reach of earthly griefs[q].

[q] Foxe, Burnet, Godwin.

On the day preceding that of Jane's execution, the Chancellor Gardiner preached at court. In his discourse he exhorted the Queen to rigorous proceedings against the captured insurgents[r]. Fearful demonstrations of a hearty disposition to follow this inhuman advice, were exhibited on the following day[s]; twenty gibbets being then erected in different quarters of the metropolis, and its outskirts[t]. Upon these, fifty of Wyat's unhappy followers expiated their offences. Others were sent down into Kent for this purpose. Altogether, sixty individuals perished in consequence of Wyat's insurrection, by the hands of justice, upon this occasion. Those who suffered were, however, only a selection from the crowd of prisoners; the more undistinguished of whom were paraded through the streets of London, bound together in pairs, with halters round their necks, to the palace[u]. In the court-yard there, they were directed to kneel down, and the Queen, looking from a balcony, pronounced the pardon of their delinquency.

[r] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 140.

[s] Ibid. 143.

[t] Godwin, Annal. 118. John Knox, as cited by Strype (145), thus mentions this disgusting parade of vindictive cruelty. "I find that Jezebel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred unjustly for his own vineyard. But I think she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel, as Mary hath done in London alone."

[u] As to the number of those who formed this melancholy spectacle, there is a considerable discrepancy among historians. According to Stow there were four hundred and more; according to Holinshed, two hundred and forty. Godwin makes them four hundred.

They naturally received this clemency, ungracious as was the mode of their deliverance, with shouts of *God save Queen Mary!* They then were conducted to Westminster Hall, and there allowed to cast away their halters. Their riddance from these ominous appendages excited a new burst of loyal exultation. They cast their caps into the air, and made the spacious hall resound with cries of *God save the Queen!* Nor did they fail to stimulate the loyalty of such as met them, by repeating this cry in their joyous passage homewards, through the streets of London[y].

The 17th of February was devoted to the Duke of Suffolk's trial. Being convicted, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, in the morning of the twenty-third. His fate was but little commiserated, because he had been the means of prematurely cutting off his daughter Jane; whose excellent qualities had excited general admiration. If Suffolk, however, had not been tempted to crime and folly by his unfortunate connexion with the royal family, he would, probably, have passed through life in comfort and respectability. For he possessed a considerable share of personal virtue, a disposition to encourage learning, and a thorough sensibility to religious impressions. In his attachment to the Reformation he continued unshaken to the end[z]. On the day of his execution, Mary pardoned some Kentish men, detained prisoners in Southwark; who

[y] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 146.

[z] Ibid. 147.

were introduced into her presence in the same ignominious manner that had been adopted when the royal mercy was dispensed before. This act of clemency served, like its precursor, to make London echo with loyal acclamations, the delivered rustics raising the usual cry, and tossing their halters into the air, when they had gained the street [y]. On the 9th of March, the Lord Thomas Grey, Suffolk's brother and fellow-conspirator was convicted of high treason [z]. He was beheaded on the 27th of April [a]. Sir Thomas Wyat underwent the same punishment on the 11th of that month [b]. He had intreated for his life in the most abject terms, and at one time, with a view of obtaining favour from the Queen, he had inculpated the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire; both of whom were in custody. Before his death, Wyat retracted the greater part, if not the whole of his accusations against these two distinguished persons; and, in consequence, they were released from the Tower, though not set at large: Elizabeth was transferred to Woodstock; Courtenay to the castle of Fotheringay [c]. They seem, in fact,

[y] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 147.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Godwin, Annal. 119.

[b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 149. William Thomas, a writer against Popery, who had filled a subordinate official situation under King Edward VI. was among the conspirators executed at this time. He had conceived the atrocious design of assassinating the Queen, greatly to Wyat's disgust and abhorrence. While in prison, Thomas made an attempt upon his own life. Collier, ii. 362.

[c] Godwin, ut supra.

to have been acquainted with Wyat's treasonable intentions, but not to have committed themselves by any overt act, in his favour.

The popular excitement at this time occasioned an artifice, which requires notice on account of the triumphant manner assumed in relating it by certain Romish writers. About the 14th of March, some extraordinary sounds were heard from a wall in Aldersgate-street, and considerable crowds were soon collected, in consequence, around the spot. An address to the bystanders was evidently meant by the invisible agent, but unfortunately, the sounds uttered were somewhat inarticulate. There were, however, persons in the street who professed themselves able to distinguish the words which thus mysteriously fell upon the ear. These interpreters informed such as listened to them, that the voice denounced innumerable woes to the nation, if the Spanish match, the mass, auricular confessions, and other Romish usages were not immediately abandoned. In this world all impositions are certain of a temporary success, for none are ever set on foot which some people do not feel an interest in forwarding, and many men appear to find the moments in which the ingenuity of another is exerted in deceiving them, among the happiest in their lives. The wonder of Aldersgate-street, accordingly, known as the *spirit in the wall*, and pronounced of an origin undoubtedly angelic, speedily became the talk of London. At length the Lord Mayor found himself called upon to interfere, and the whole affair immediately assumed a very intelligible character. Eliza-

beth Crofts, a girl of eighteen, had undertaken, it appeared, to deliver these oracular denunciations through a tube applied to a fissure in the wall. Among those who favoured the crowd with information as to the precise import of her half-articulate effusions, were, of course, individuals concerned in arranging the plot. The principal, with seven accomplices, were committed to prison, and the girl did public penance for her imposture at St. Paul's Cross[d]. This contemptible fraud appears to have given much satisfaction among the more artful and violent Romanists[e]; who represented it as an exact counterpart of such admitted impositions as have brought discredit upon their own sect. Especially was it used as a parallel to the case of Elizabeth Barton[f]. But there is an important difference between the two; as also between the deception practised in Aldersgate-street, and the various miracles of Romanism. The London impostor was, indeed, probably a Protestant; but no clergyman, or other person of any note, attached to the Reformation, was found among her advisers or supporters. Nor have Protestant authorities encouraged an expectation of interruptions in the ordinary course of nature as authentications of their opinions. In Barton's imposture, on the contrary, several ecclesiastics were implicated; while two papal agents countenanced it, and even Bishop Fisher allowed it to tarnish his high

[d] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 153. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 428.
[e] Sanders, 255. Ribadeneyra, 216.
[f] Burnet, *ut supra*. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 409.

reputation. Such humiliating instances, indeed, may ever be expected to occur in a Church which has canonized a multitude of individuals, all of whom, it is pretended, have established their claims to saintly honours, by the working of miracles. A succession of extraordinary statements is thus connected inseparably with the Romish religion, affording not unreasonably to its professors a ground for believing and representing that especial manifestations of heavenly favour are the peculiar privilege of their sect. The weaker minds, nurtured in such a system, are naturally prepared for delusion, the more unprincipled ones for imposture. Protestants, however, are not instructed by their spiritual guides to credit any accounts of miracles unrecorded in Scripture. An imposition, therefore, occurring among them, is in no degree the fault of their system; it is entirely chargeable upon individual baseness and folly.

Among the various indications of the Queen's resolution to restore Popery, no one wore a more ungracious appearance than her treatment of Sir James Hales, one of the justices in the court of Common Pleas. At the last autumn assizes, in Kent, that judge felt himself called upon, in the discharge of his duty, to say from the bench, that mass could not legally be celebrated in churches; no act having then passed to authorize it. This unpalatable doctrine, of which, however, no man could deny the soundness, instantly cancelled Mary's obligations to the conscientious magistrate. That he alone, of all the persons urged to concur in disinheriting her, should have persisted in refusing his signature to King Ed-

ward's devise, was at once forgotten. An official statement of an undoubted fact offensive to the royal ears, was deemed unpardonable. When Hales presented himself in Westminster-hall to take the oaths, at the beginning of October, the Chancellor Gardiner accordingly repulsed him, as having, by his late declaration at the assizes, disobliged her Majesty. Vainly did the judge urge his obligation to speak according to his conscience. He was a Protestant, and Gardiner impudently derided his plea of conscience[s]. The Chancellor, indeed, admitted that what he called "the rigour of the law," was upon the judge's side; but he found the face to add; "Ye might have had regard to the Queen's Highness's present doings in this case." He adverted also to Mary's favourable opinion of Hales, on account of his refusal to sign her brother's will. As, however, the judge's constancy proved immoveable, Gardiner, at length, thus uncourteously dismissed him; "Ye may depart, as ye came, without the oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place." Not contented with dismissing this upright magistrate from his office, the bigoted and vindictive government on the 26th of January, committed

[s] "*Hales.* I have professed the law; against which in cases of justice, I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same shew forth my conscience: and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did. *Gardiner.* Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is known well enough. I know you lack no conscience. *Hales.* My Lord, ye may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you." Foxe, 1392.

him to the King's Bench prison[h]. He remained there until the beginning of Lent, when he was transferred to Bread-street counter. Thence, he was conveyed to the Fleet; in which prison Bishop Day of Chichester, and some other able adherents of Romanism importuned him to recant. Unhappily for his peace, Hales yielded at length to the sophistries and solicitations of these advisers. A horrid fit of despondence immediately overwhelmed him, and life itself became insupportable. While thus agonised by remorse, he received one evening a call to supper by saying that he was ill, and must go without delay to bed. Through the night he sobbed and groaned incessantly. On the following morning, about six o'clock, he complained of thirst, and ordered his servant to procure him a draught of ale. On the man's return, he found that his unhappy master had attempted his life with a penknife. Gardiner soon afterwards mentioned this lamentable event in the Star-chamber, unfeelingly

[h] Foxe (1392) says that Sir James Hales was committed a few days after the conversation with Gardiner in Westminster-hall; which took place on the 6th of October. In another part of his work, the martyrologist has preserved a sort of diary, (1333) in which occurs the following entry: "Upon the Saturday following, being the 26th of January, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea." This date appears the more probable one, because it is found in a document which seems to have been written at the very time; and also because Wyat openly took the field on the 25th of January. Hales, probably, was suspected, or at least accused of a participation in Wyat's treasonable enterprise.

and insultingly adding, that poor Hales's mind had been imbued with a doctrine of desperation. To this uncharitable commentary, the persecuted judge eventually supplied a farther confirmation. His enemies possessed the power to restore his liberty, and they did restore it. But their ill usage, importunities, and artifices had undermined his confidence in the steadinsss of his faith, and had tarnished his reputation for integrity. To repair these losses was beyond their power. Their victim's tranquillity was, accordingly, gone. After wearing away some miserable months at his house in Kent, he was driven to seek a guilty refuge from his anguish, by drowning himself in the shallow waters of a neighbouring stream.[j]

On the 4th of March, the Queen exercised her prerogative as earthly head of the national church, according to precedents in the reigns of her father and brother, by issuing injunctions to the prelacy. She prefaced this instance of her interference in ecclesiastical affairs with the following description of English society under the late monarch. "Heretofore, in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother King Edward VI. (whose soul God pardon,) divers notable excesses and faults, with divers kinds of heresies, simony, advoutry[k], and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the begin-

[j] Foxe, 1282, 1333, 1392.

[k] Adultery.

ning of our reign without any correction, or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolence and ungodly rate[l], greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to the no little slander of other Christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clear defacing of this our realm[m]." In order to remedy these disorders, her Majesty enjoined, that ecclesiastical canons used under King Henry VIII. should be put in full force; that ordinaries should leave out of official instruments all mention of the royal authority; that they should cease to require the oath of supremacy; that they should carefully exclude from ecclesiastical offices all Sacramentaries, or persons charged with any kind of heresy, or other great crime; that they should diligently labour to repress heresy, and notable crimes, especially in the clergy; that they should exert themselves to destroy pernicious opinions, books, ballads, and other devices engendering hatred and discord; that they should remove and punish all schoolmasters and preachers who set forth evil doctrine; that they should deprive all married ecclesiastics; that they should divorce such persons from their wives; that they should make arrangements for the serving of churches destitute of incumbents, or at least take care that the parishioners, in

[l] Manner of living.

[m] "Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus."
Hor. A. P. 139.

such cases, should resort to a neighbouring church. Besides these expedients for repressing the frightful immorality and heresy, which, according to the proclamation, had overrun the country, the following were also enjoined: processions and the Latin litany were to be restored; all ceremonies, formerly used, were to be observed; children were to be baptised and confirmed as they had been anciently; clergymen lately ordained, and thought fit to minister still, were to have such things supplied as had been wanting in their ordination; homilies inculcating an uniform doctrine were to be prepared; parishioners were to be forced to attend their several churches, and to hear service there devoutly; all schoolmasters and teachers were to be examined, and being found any way suspicious, they were to be removed, and Catholics placed in their appointments, with an especial injunction to prepare their scholars for taking part in the celebration of mass; and finally, clergymen of every degree were to set good examples, and to repress vice [n].

Within a few days after this exercise of the supremacy, Mary made use again of her ecclesiastical powers, schismatical as she considered them. On the 16th of March, was issued a royal commission empowering the Chancellor, together with his brethren Tunstall, Boner, Parfew, Day, and Kitchen; to deprive Archbishop Holgate, and the Bishops Ferrar, Bird, and Bush, as being regulars who had broken their

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 345.

vows of celibacy [o]. Another instrument, dated on the preceding day, authorised the same commissioners to cashier from their several sees, for other alleged misdemeanors, the Bishops Taylor, Hooper, and Harley. Of these, the two latter were also married men, but never having entered into any monastic order, they had not, by choosing the conjugal state, violated any express obligation. Their dismissal, accordingly, appears to have been chiefly grounded upon the fact that they held their bishoprics during pleasure, which was treated as a defect in their several titles; and her Majesty thus accounted for this ungracious exercise of her discretion: "It hath been credibly brought to our knowledge, that, both by preaching, teaching, and setting forth erroneous doctrine, and also by inordinate life, and conversation, contrary both to the laws of Almighty God, and the use of the Universal Christian Church, they have declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the Church [p]. Six, of the seven prelates proscribed in these two instruments, were deprived of their sees by a formal act of the commissioners, on the 20th of March. Bush, of Bristol, upon some unknown account, escaped this humiliation. He, probably, professed contrition and conversion; offering at the same time

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 350. Harmer, 130.

[p] Ibid. 352. Their consecrations were also represented as null. Taylor, Bishop of Lincoln, was deprived "*ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a R. Edv. vi., cum hac clausula, Dum bene se gesserit.*" Harmer, 134.

to resign his see. This he actually did after a very short interval; and thus seven bishoprics awaited the acceptance of Romish incumbents [q]. Goodrich, of Ely, at the end of a few weeks, made, by his death, another vacancy [r].

So many of the chief ecclesiastical appointments being placed at the Queen's disposal, care was now taken to remove clergymen of Protestant principles from inferior situations in the Church. This ejection was effected pretty speedily and completely by proceeding against all persons in holy orders who had contracted matrimony. Bishop Boner had undertaken to enforce this kind of discipline in his own diocese, during February . The other bishops appear to have waited until they had received the Queen's injunctions. Every secular married priest was then required to put away his wife within twelve months, and undergo penance. If he consented, he was admitted, on his petition, to minister again. To the regulars no such indulgence was allowed.

[q] "The reader may observe, these bishops, excepting Bush, were all turned out upon the strength of the *Regale*: for though the sentence of deprivation was pronounced by bishops, and none but those of that order are named in the commission; yet they acted purely upon the Queen's authority, as appears both by the instrument, and the Canterbury-register." Collier, ii. 365.

[r] Ibid. Bishop Goodrich died either on the 9th, or the 10th of May. The precise ground of Bp. Day's restoration to the see of Chichester, is not evident from the register; which seems to insinuate, that Scory voluntarily resigned that bishopric. Barlow is said to have resigned freely and spontaneously the see of Bath and Wells. Harmer, 134, 135.

[s] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 471.

They were rigorously excluded from all hope of professional employment [t]. These harsh measures gradually spread a great mass of misery over the country; great numbers of families used to comfort and respectability, being turned adrift to struggle with poverty and obloquy [u].

Mary having completed all the political arrangements necessary for her marriage, desired to have them sanctioned by the legislature; and accordingly, writs were issued for the assembling of a new Parliament. London, probably, stood somewhat low in the royal favour, on account of the discontent, and heresy, as a faith undoubtedly Apostolical, was called

[t] Wharton's Observations upon Strype's Cranmer. Append, 1058.

[u] It is reported by a contemporary author, whose work in defence of clerical marriages was published by Abp. Parker, that twelve thousand persons were reduced to indigence by this cruel measure; but that statement is, undoubtedly, an exaggeration: The sufferers, however, must have been numerous; and when Romanists paint the hardships undergone by the monks and nuns ejected under King Henry, they may fairly be reminded of the clerical families plunged in unmerited distress by Queen Mary's proscription of married clergymen. A pittance, it is true, was usually granted to these unfortunate individuals, as one had been to the monastic inmates. But in the former case as in the latter, complaints were made upon the insufficiency of this allowance, and it is added, in many instances, ecclesiastics ejected at this time were iniquitously deprived of that provision which the government intended for them. Some judgment may, perhaps, be formed as to the number of clergymen ejected at this time by the number of processes instituted in the diocese of Canterbury. In this are about 380 spiritual promotions. The deprivations amounted to 73. Harmer, 138.

at court, which extensively pervaded its population. With a view to overcome the holders of these obnoxious opinions, the gibbets which had served for the punishment of Wyat's followers, yet frowned upon the citizens in every quarter of the metropolis, and in order to humble farther these refractory spirits, it was determined that the more obedient towns-people of Oxford should enjoy the benefit of that expenditure which necessarily attends the great national council. The Queen's more prudent advisers, overruled, however, this unpopular intention, and although preparations had been already made, at Oxford, for the meeting of Parliament, that important body was at length directed to assemble in the usual place, at Westminster, on the second of April [x]. It is asserted, that experience of the difficulties encountered by the court in the last Parliament led to much infamous corruption among those who were returned at this time: pensions of one hundred, or two hundred pounds a year, being promised to the more active and venal members [y]. In this disgraceful statement, undoubtedly, there is much

[x] Foxe, 1296. The disgusting spectacles every where meeting the eye, of gibbets and human heads are thus mentioned by the French ambassador: "Vous pouvant asseurer, monsieur, mon compaignon, que les plus beaulx spectacles que l'on puisse veoir en ceste ville, et par tout ce pays, ce sont gibetz accompaignez des plus braves et vaillantz hommes qu'elle eust poinct en son royaulme." (Noailles, iii. 77.) "Il n'y a par toute ceste ville triomphe que de gibetz, et testes de justiciez par-dessus les portes." Ibid. 83.

[y] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 434.

probability both from the conduct of the Lower House, and from preparations made some time before by the Austrian family for bribing the more mercenary spirits among Englishmen of influence[1]. The first act passed was one to declare that the royal prerogatives were inherent in the crown, whether possessed by a male, or a female. In the debate upon it, some clauses were added, reasonably enough, declaring that every occupant of the throne, although raised to that dignity by common law, was bound by such constitutional limitations as had been established at various times. The statute was framed, according to the conceit of some visionaries, with a view to enable Mary, as the first female occupant of the throne, to rule in defiance of such limitations as had been imposed upon her predecessors; all of them having been of the other sex. The true reason of this enactment was, however, most probably, to provide against the crude and seditious doctrines broached by some of the Reformers[2]; who had incautiously maintained that females are incapacitated upon constitutional, and even upon religious grounds, from assuming the sceptre. Another act confirmed the Queen's matrimonial treaty, and thus gave legislative authority to Gardiner's judicious and patriotic

[1] The Emperor appears to have borrowed no less than 400,000*l.* at Gardiner's suggestion, for buying down opposition to his son's marriage. (Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 409.) It will be seen hereafter that Philip actually brought over into England a vast mass of treasure.

[2] Such reasoners maintained that their arguments were more than ordinarily conclusive in cases where female sovereigns were idolaters.

stipulations for guarding the national independence. By another act, the bishopric of Durham was restored to the state in which it stood before Northumberland's project for its dismemberment. Attainders were also voted against those who had suffered on account of Wyat's rebellion. The Commons then began to discover a violent antipathy against opinions termed heretical by those who were admitted to the wealthy Spaniard's confidence. A bill passed their House to revive the repealed statutes against Lollardy, and another to render more effective some particulars in these statutes. The Lords, however, rejected these bills. The Commons also entertained another bill intended to repress erroneous opinions and books; but this was laid aside on the third reading. Amidst this display of zeal for Romanism, it seems to have occurred to such members of the Lower House as had been enriched by the Reformation, that their measures might lead to a call for the surrender of abbey-lands. Now this was a mode of shewing their abhorrence of Protestantism, which, although magnanimous, was repugnant to the feelings of the members. They passed, accordingly, a bill to prevent the Bishop of Rome, or any other person, meaning, probably, any legate of the papal see, from troubling individuals possessed of estates, once conventual. This bill also the Lords rejected as unnecessary; the Bishop of Rome having no authority in England. Assurances were at the same time given, that there existed no intention to disturb individuals in the enjoyment of properties formerly

belonging to monasteries [b]. At this disposition of the Lower House to discuss questions bearing upon the papal authority, the court appears to have been displeased [c]. The objects, therefore, which particularly required the legislative sanction having been attained; the Parliament was dissolved upon the 25th of May [d].

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 438.
[c] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 478.
[d] Burnet, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER II.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer removed to Oxford—Their assent is required to three Romish articles—Cranmer's answer—Ridley's answer—Cranmer's disputation—Ridley's disputation—Latimer brought forward to dispute—Cranmer's opponency—Condemnation of the three Prelates—Cranmer's letter to the Queen—Ridley's letter to the Prolocutor—Debate as to disposing of the three Prelates—Their condition at Oxford—Their occupations there—Abortive proposals for a disputation at Cambridge—The Queen's marriage—Bishop Boner's visitation—His articles of enquiry—Preparations for a new Parliament—Reversal of Pole's attainder—Bulls authorising the Cardinal to act as Legate—His letter to the King—Determination to bring him into England—His arrival there—His speech to the Parliament—Submission of England to the Papacy—Bishop Gardiner's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross—Dispensation for the holding of ecclesiastical estates—Acts passed in Parliament.

THE Romanists had found their conduct in the last year's convocation injurious to their credit. The opposite party complained every where of having been unfairly treated; adding, that, although deprived of that assistance which they had anxiously and justly required, they had, nevertheless, completely baffled their opponents[a]. No man acquainted with the facts could deny that these statements rested upon very plausible grounds, and therefore, it was deter-

[a] Collier, ii. 367.

mined to concert measures for silencing such objections to the dominant ecclesiastical system. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, accordingly, received in their prison, a summons to come forward, and argue in defence of their opinions. When first committed to the Tower, these holy men appear to have been allowed separate chambers, and to have been treated, commonly, with reasonable indulgence [b]. Wyat's rebellion, however, caused every prison to overflow, and the three prelates, together with Mr. Bradford, were, in consequence, all confined in a single room. From this inconvenience they resolved immediately to extract a solid advantage. Expecting daily to be called in question for their faith, and knowing that transubstantiation is the palladium of Popery, they read over together, with great attention, the whole New Testament, for the purpose of

[b] Latimer was, however, kept for some time, at the approach of winter, without a fire. This hardship caused him to say that "if the lieutenant of the Tower do not look better after me, perchance I shall deceive him." That officer, alarmed by this intimation, asked the old man whether he had used these words, and what he meant by them? He was thus answered; "Yea, master lieutenant, I so said indeed: for you look, I think, that I should burn; but unless you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am like here to starve for cold."

Ridley thus describes his treatment in a letter to Grindal. "I was in the Tower about two months close prisoner, and after that had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year, and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again." Letters of the Martyrs, 1564. p. 32.

detecting, if possible, any grounds in it for the Romish Eucharistic doctrines. The result of their study was a renewed conviction that the sacred penmen afford no reason for believing either the corporal presence, or the propitiatory character attributed to the mass [c]. Oxford was the place appointed for a disputation between the three prelates, and some of the abler Romanists; it being considered that an university was best adapted for a scholastic encounter. To this ancient abode of learning, accordingly, a committee, selected from the Convocation, was charged to repair; an order having been issued, on the 8th of March, that the three prelates should proceed thither in the custody of Sir John Williams [d]. Two days afterwards the illustrious prisoners, being allowed to carry nothing with them besides the clothes which they wore, were conveyed from London to Windsor; whence they were transferred to Oxford [e], and lodged in the common gaol there as the vilest criminals. The Convocation decided, that the positions for discussion should be the following. 1. In the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the divine word uttered by the priest, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, is really present, under the species of bread and wine; also his natural blood. 2. After consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine; nor any other substance, unless the substance of Christ, God and

[c] Protestation of Mr. Hugh Latimer, rendered to Dr. Weston. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 292.

[d] Proceedings of Privy Council, 54.

[e] Foxe, 1299. Letters of the Martyrs, *ut supra*.

man. 3. In the mass is a vivifical propitiatory[f] sacrifice of the Church for the sins as well of the living as of the dead[g].

These articles were transmitted to Cambridge by the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, in order that the academic body there might solemnly approve them, and might delegate certain disputants of ability to defend them at the sister-university. No difficulty being made as to either of these matters, the Vice-chancellor, attended by four assistants, arrived in Oxford on Friday, the 13th of April. On the following morning the delegates from Cambridge paid a visit to Dr. Weston, the Prolocutor of the Convocation, at Lincoln College; and thence a solemn procession moved to St. Mary's. The forenoon being consumed in religious rites, and in formal preliminaries for the business in hand, the commissioners repaired, after dinner, to St. Mary's again; and, taking their seats in front of the altar, they desired the Mayor of Oxford to bring Dr. Cranmer forth. The Archbishop entered surrounded by javelin-men; and, leaning upon his staff, made a low obeisance to the court. A seat was offered to him, but he declined it. Dr. Weston then began to harangue in commendation of unity; an excellence of which, he observed, the prisoner had formerly been duly sensible; but having of late broken it, and having taught a new faith every year, the Queen had been graciously pleased to charge those before whom he stood, with the task of

f "Vivificum, propitiabile."
g Strype, Mem. Cranm. 479.

endeavouring to bring him back to unity again. Cranmer modestly, but firmly and collectedly, replied, that he highly valued unity; and, after citing some historical instances to shew its advantages, he concluded by declaring, that he should gladly embrace it, provided it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word. The three propositions, to which he was required to subscribe, being then placed in his hands, he read them over three or four times. At last he asked, "Does the word *natural*, in the first article, mean *organic?*" A considerable confusion followed from this enquiry, different terms being used by those who undertook to answer it; but the construction which appeared to prevail was, that the word *natural* asserted the identity of our Lord's body in the Eucharist, with that body which was born of the Virgin Mary. "The first proposition then," said Cranmer, "I utterly deny." After this he looked attentively for a time at the remaining two articles. At length he thus broke silence: "These propositions also are false, and contrary to God's holy word. If, therefore, by the unity which you recommend, it is meant that I should join in approving these doctrines, I must wholly decline to follow your advice." The Prolocutor then said, "You must write your mind upon these articles this night, and you must maintain your opinions in a public disputation on Monday next. Meanwhile you will be supplied with any books that you may require." The illustrious prisoner was then conducted back to the common gaol, followed by general sympathy and admiration. His humble yet undaunted carriage

had, indeed, excited violently the best feelings in every ingenuous breast around him; and the eyes of several masters of arts, who disapproved his principles, were suffused with tears as they rested upon this impressive spectacle of fallen greatness, and Christian meekness[h].

On the day in which the deputation from Cambridge had arrived at Oxford, the Bishops Ridley and Latimer were removed from Bocardo, as the gaol was called, to private houses[i]. Ridley was lodged with one of the aldermen of the city, and from that abode he was brought into St. Mary's church, where the three propositions were immediately shewn to him. Having read them, he said at once, "They are all false; they spring from a sour and bitter root." He was then charged with having maintained transubstantiation in a sermon which he preached when Bishop of Rochester. "That I deny," he said; "can you bring forward any who heard me?" He was next asked, "Did you not advise my Lord Chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things?" He replied, "Surely my Lord hath not so reported of me; if he hath, he has uttered that which is not true." It was then demanded of him, whether he would maintain his opinions in a disputation? "While God gives me life," he replied, "he shall not only have my heart, but also my tongue and my

[h] Foxe, 1300.

[i] "Bocardo is a stinking and filthy prison for drunkards, whores, and harlots, and the vilest sort of people." Note by Coverdale upon a letter written by Bp. Ridley to Mr. Bradford. Letters of the Martyrs, 59.

pen to defend his truth. Let me, however, have my books, and sufficient time to prepare myself for this disputation." He was answered, that he could not be supplied with his own books and papers; nor allowed longer time for preparation than the interval between that day and the following Tuesday; but that he might have the use of such authors as he should require. On this he observed, that it was hard to be deprived of helps prepared by his own industry, and to be called upon for a defence of important truths on so short a notice. He was then desired to prepare a written answer to the three propositions in the course of the night. After which the officers were ordered to remove him[k].

The venerable Latimer was then introduced, bending under the weight of years and infirmities. On his head were two or three caps, together with a handkerchief; a pair of spectacles hung by a string upon his breast, and in his hand was a staff. Being seated, the three propositions were shewn to him, and he pronounced them false. On this the Prolocutor informed him, that he must dispute in defence of his opinions on the next Wednesday. The old man replied, "From age, lack of books, and sickness, I am almost as meet to be captain of Calais, as to dispute. But I will declare my mind as to these articles either in writing, or by word of mouth; and I will stand to all that you can lay upon my back. I must, however, complain of ill usage. I have been allowed to have neither pen nor ink; nor any book,

[k] Letters of the Martyrs, 69.

save this New Testament, which I have read over deliberately seven times. But I can find no mass in it, nor yet the marrow-bones, nor sinews of the same." This ludicrous mode of referring to Romish definitions of high authority, disconcerted the assembled doctors. At length Weston said, "I will make you grant, that, in the New Testament, the mass hath both marrow-bones and sinews." Latimer retorted, "That you will never do, Master Doctor;" and he then began upon a defence of the language which he had used. A violent rush towards the place where he sat immediately followed; it not being doubted that his criticisms upon transubstantiation would prove both acute and amusing. He was, however, abruptly stopped; and the court adjourned [m].

On the following day, being Sunday, the commissioners attended, in the morning, a sermon preached by Harpsfield, at St. Mary's. From church they went to a grand dinner, provided for them at Magdalen College. In the evening they supped with the Prolocutor, at Lincoln College, and there were re-

[l] The Trentine catechism directs the Romish clergy to teach, that in the Eucharist is truly present whatever is found in a real human body, as *bones and nerves*. (See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. iii. 140, note.) Latimer, therefore, in mentioning "the marrow-bones and sinews of the mass," merely glanced, in one of his habitual veins of homely pleasantry, at a doctrine truly Romish. There is reason for believing that he had used this ludicrous image not unfrequently in his sermons; for Persons tells us, that "boys, when he was going up to the pulpit, would cry, *Now, father Latimer, at the marrow-bones of the mass.*" Three Conv. iii. 223.

[m] Foxe, *ut supra*.

ceived, as it seems, the required answers, in writing, from Cranmer and Ridley [n]. The former of these papers is to the following purport. "Our Lord, on the eve of his passion, lest we should ever become unmindful of the benefits which he was about to purchase for us, enjoined us perpetually to commemorate the breaking of his body, and the shedding of his blood, by the eating of bread, and the drinking of wine. Hence those who deny the cup to laymen, in obedience to some human tradition, are manifestly repugnant to Christ, and obnoxious to those rebukes which he addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees, *Ye have made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition* [o]. *But in vain do ye worship me; teaching for doctrines the commandments of men* [p]. The mystical bread and wine, received according to Christ's institution, are not only sacraments of his body wounded, and his blood shed for our sakes, but they are also seals, as it were, of the Divine promises and gifts. Faithful Christians hold fellowship with Jesus, and with all his members. From this communion they derive a heavenly food, nourishing them unto life eternal, a living stream quenching the thirst of their labouring consciences, an ineffable joy diffusing itself over their hearts, and strengthening them for all the offices of piety. *I am the living bread,* said Christ, *which came down*

[n] Foxe mentions only the receipt of Cranmer's answer; but as Ridley's is likewise extant, it was, probably, sent about the same time.

[o] St. Matt. xv. 6.

[p] Ibid. 9.

from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever[q]. In the Eucharist, therefore, the elements continue mere bread and wine, until they have been received by the faithful. Christ then leaves not the communicant so soon as the Sacrament has been consumed; according to his promise[r], he remains in them so long as individuals continue his members. I acknowledge no such natural body of Christ as is purely an intellectual object, being not discernible by the senses, nor distributed into different members[s]. I venerate and acknowledge only that body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, being visible, palpable, and complete in all the forms and parts of a human and organic body. When Christ said, *Eat* and *drink*, he referred not to any uncertain substances, but to material bread and wine; the sensible qualities of which are undeniable, and the component parts of which are obnoxious to no dispute. He called, therefore, these objects his body and blood, say the ancients, by a mode of expression which is figurative, tropical, analogical, allegorical. Hence we are not to understand the Sacraments carnally, but spiritually. Our senses are not to be fixed upon the visible elements, but our minds are to be so exalted, that we may dis-

[q] St. John vi. 51.

[r] Ibid. 56.

[s] "Nullum agnosco corpus naturale Christi, quod solum spirituale sit, intellectuale, et insensibile, quod nullis membris, aut partibus sit distinctum." It is obvious that metaphysical refinements, or rather fallacies and absurdities, such as are mentioned in this passage, must enter into all copious and scholarly defences of transubstantiation.

cern the body and blood of Christ with the eye of faith, may come in contact with him mentally, may drink his blood in the inward man, may soar like eagles from earth to heaven, and fix our hearts upon the place where, at the Father's right hand, sits the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, by whose stripes we are healed. In the holy Supper we become the guests of Christ, and are admonished that the crucifixion of his body, and the shedding of his blood, are no less necessary for our spiritual nutriment unto life eternal, than are ordinary food and drink for the sustenance of our mortal bodies. Of this spiritual nutriment the mystical bread and wine received at the Lord's table are a memorial, a pledge, a symbol, a sacrament, and a seal.

"The single oblation made by Christ upon the cross was of so great efficacy, that no farther sacrifice was needed for the redemption of men. All the sacrifices of the old law were henceforth taken away, the object being accomplished which they figured and promised. Whoever, therefore, fixes his hope of salvation upon any sacrifice, save that of the cross, has fallen from the Saviour's grace, and offers an affront to his blood. *The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all*[t]. *By his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us*[u]. *By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*[v]. *Their sins and iniquities will I remember no more. Now*

[t] Isaiah liii. 6.
[u] Heb. ix. 12.
[v] Ibid. x. 14.

where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin[w]. He, therefore, who seeks any other sacrifice for sin, save that of the cross, makes the propitiation of Christ invalid and inefficacious. For if this be sufficient to obtain the remission of sins, there is no need of any other. The necessity of another argues the weakness and insufficiency of this. Almighty God grant that we may truly rest upon the one sacrifice of Christ, and that we, in turn, may repay to Him our sacrifices of thanksgiving, praise, the confession of his name, real amendment and repentance, beneficence to our neighbours, and all other offices of piety. For by such sacrifices we shall shew ourselves neither ungrateful towards God, nor unworthy of our Saviour's sacrifice.

"Thus you have, from holy Scripture, and from ancient doctors of the Church, a true and sincere account of the uses for which Christ instituted his holy Supper, and of the fruits properly flowing from it. Whosoever shall wilfully strive to change or transubstantiate, by forced interpretations, or human traditions, what Christ has ordained, he shall answer for such conduct at the last day, and shall understand but too late, that so far from having any part with the Saviour's body and blood, he has eaten and drunk eternal perdition from the supper of eternal life[x]."

Bishop Ridley commences his reply by commenting upon the unscriptural phraseology, and the verbal ambiguities, in which the first proposition is

[w] Heb. x. 18.

[x] Collier, Records, ii. 82. Foxe, 1301.

couched. He then thus proceeds: "No dogma is to be established in the Church, which is at variance with God's Word, and with the analogy of faith; and which draws with it many absurdities. Now such is the dogma contained in this first proposition: therefore it is not to be established in the Church of God. The carnal presence is contrary to several passages of holy Scripture; it is at variance with the articles of our faith; it evacuates and takes away our Lord's institution from his own Supper; it prostitutes precious things to the profane, casting that which is holy to dogs, and pearls before swine; it brings before men many monstrous miracles without any necessity, and without any authority from God's Word; it gives a handle for the defence of their errors to such heretics as think untruly of the two natures of Christ; it impairs a belief in the reality of his human nature; lastly, it falsifies the testimony of orthodox fathers, and also that catholic faith of the Church, which apostles have delivered, which martyrs have confirmed, and which the faithful, according to ancient authors, even now protect. Our Saviour said, speaking of himself, *It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you*[y]. *The days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them*[z]. *If any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not*[a]. St. Peter said of his blessed Mas-

[y] St. John xvi. 7.
[z] St. Matt. ix. 15.
[a] Ibid. xxiv. 23.

ter, *Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things* [b]. The articles of our Creed assert of Christ, *He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence,* and not from any other place, as Austin says, *he shall come to judge the quick and dead.* It was an object in the institution of the holy Supper, that we should *shew the Lord's death till he come* [c]. Hence, if Christ be corporally present, this Supper ought to cease. A thing present is not commemorated, but one that is past and absent. Some of the fathers observe, a figure is vainly used in the presence of that which is figured. Transubstantiation asserts, that adulterers, homicides, the impenitent and impious, infidels, mice, and dogs can receive the body of Him in whom dwelleth the fulness of light and grace: which assertion is contradicted by six plain texts in one chapter of St. John's Gospel [d]. This doctrine imposes the necessity of believing many monstrous, needless, and unauthorised miracles; as, that accidents exist without their proper subjects, the Lord's body descends without its essential qualities. Some say, that if the Sacrament be kept until it has become mouldy and bred worms, the substance miraculously returns. Others deny this. Some say, that Christ's body descends into the stomach of the communicant, and remains there until the species be consumed by the natural heat. Some say, that it remains in good men so

[b] Acts iii. 21.
[c] 1 Cor. xi. 26.
[d] St. John vi.

long as they continue good. Others assert, that Christ's body is rapt into heaven immediately that the species are bruised by the teeth. O, miracle-mongers! I fear, indeed, that in them has been fulfilled the prophecy of Paul: *Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie. That they might all be damned who believed not the truth*.[c] The carnal presence has led to that device, which abrogates our Lord's injunction, in denying the cup to the laity. It affords a handle to heretics for defending their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had only the shadowy form of a human body; to Eutyches, who confounded the two natures of Christ. Lastly, it falsifies the words of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius of Emissa, Athanasius, Cyrill, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Austin, Vigilius, Fulgentius, and Bertram. Besides these, I know that I have read places to the same purport in others of the most ancient fathers; and if the use of my books were allowed me, I would undertake to produce such testimonies at the risk of forfeiting my life, and every thing else which can be lost in this world.

"Think not, however, brethren, that because we disapprove the doctrine of your first proposition as a visionary figment, perniciously introduced into the Church of Romanists, without authority from God's Word; that we therefore wish to take away that true

[c] 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 12.

presence of Christ's body in his holy Supper, which is founded in God's Word, and illustrated by the commentaries of orthodox fathers. With Luke the Evangelist, and Paul the Apostle, I say, that the bread with thanksgiving is the body of Christ for celebrating a continual remembrance of himself and his death until his coming [f]. I also say, that *the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ* [g]. With the orthodox fathers I thus speak, and I think, that not only a signification of the Lord's body is made in the Sacrament of his Supper; but I also confess, that together with that Sacrament is offered to pious and faithful persons the grace of Christ's body, life, namely, and the nutriment of eternity [h]."

On Monday, the 16th of April, soon after eight in the morning, the commissioners proceeded with the customary formalities from Exeter-college to the

[f] "Cum Luca Evangelista, et Paulo Apostolo, dico panem in quo gratiæ actæ sint, esse corpus Christi ad memoriam ipsius, et mortis ejus usque ad adventum ejus perpetuo a fidelibus celebrandam."

[g] 1 Cor. x. 16.

[h] "Cum orthodoxis patribus sic loquor, et sentio non solum significationem corporis Dominici fieri per Sacramentum suæ Cœnæ, sed una cum illo exhiberi quoque fateor piis et fidelibus gratiam corporis Christi, vitam scilicet, atque æternitatis alimoniam, idque cum Cypriano." (Collier, Records, ii. 85.) Several citations from the fathers follow, which have been omitted for the sake of avoiding unnecessary prolixity. It might appear that Ridley did not discuss at this time the propitiatory character attributed by Romanists to the mass. He, probably, found himself unable to accomplish this within the hours allotted for the preparation of his answer.

Divinity-school. Thither Cranmer was brought, guarded as before. He was placed in the desk appropriated to respondents, and near him were ranged the Mayor and Aldermen of Oxford. The Prolocutor opened the business of the day in a set speech, which thus began: "We are assembled, my brethren, to confound that detestable heresy concerning the verity of Christ's body in the Sacrament." As it might hence be inferred that the speaker considered transubstantiation a detestable heresy, his exordium excited a loud burst of laughter. Order being restored, Weston continued his speech: of which the main purport was, that it is against the Divine laws to question transubstantiation, and that those who entertain such a question may well be thought to doubt the truth and power of God. Cranmer then, after requesting permission to offer a few remarks, thus spoke. "We are assembled to discuss, and to lay before the world, certain controverted matters; of which, we are told, it is unlawful to dispute. If, however, that opinion be correct, or if these matters be not in controversy, surely mine answer is expected in vain." Of these words no notice appears to have been taken. Dr. Chadsey commenced the disputation by reading the three articles upon which Cranmer had already written. He then said, "Reverend master Doctor, you have given up unto us your opinion upon these conclusions. I term it *your* opinion, because it disagreeth from the Catholic. Thus I argue: your opinion differeth from the Scripture; therefore you are deceived." The Archbishop replied, "Your former assertion I deny."

Chadsey now resumed his argument by reciting the institution of the Lord's Supper according to the Evangelists; by maintaining that the term, "body" used by them in these passages, is to be understood literally; and by asserting that the Church has assigned this meaning to that term. In reply, Cranmer insisted, that our Lord's words, in instituting the Eucharist, are figurative, and that the Church had so understood them. In confirmation of his arguments, he produced a written paper, which was handed to the Prolocutor with a request that it might be read aloud. Weston assented to this request, but it was, nevertheless, eluded. A tedious and disorderly disputation was then maintained between the Archbishop and several opponents, until near two o'clock in the afternoon. In conducting this, Latin was used sometimes, at others, English. Cranmer experienced in the course of his arduous conflict, great interruption and rudeness. Even the Prolocutor so far forgot himself as to call him an unlearned, unskilful, and ignorant man. This indecency on the presiding officer's part naturally led to much contumelious turbulence among the less conspicuous persons around. The school, accordingly, re-echoed, at intervals, with hissing, hooting, and the clapping of hands. At length, Dr. Weston dismissed the assembly by directing his auditors to shout, "The truth prevails[1]." Cranmer had taken

[1] Foxe, 1310. As a specimen of the arguments by which Romanists puzzle themselves into a belief of transubstantiation, it may be worth while to subjoin the criticism of Persons upon

the precaution to charge two friends with the office of committing to paper the particulars of this disputation. These were Jewel, afterwards illustrious as the apologist of the Church of England, and Gilbert Mounson: two faithful notaries, who also discharged the same office, at his own request, for Ridley. The Archbishop likewise intreated for sufficient time to consider all the questions at issue, and for other opportunities of encountering his adversaries, in order that he might come prepared with such authorities, and dialectic weapons as his experience of the present day had shewn to be necessary. Nor did he forget to require, that he, with his friends, should be permitted to oppose, as well as to respond; that is, that they should be placed in a situation to press the Romish disputants with arguments and citations of

Cranmer's assertion that Christ is not organically present in the Eucharist. "We may perceive that this great doctor, who had written a great book against the real presence, by which Latimer, among others, was made a Sacramentary, and stood therein unto death upon the credit of this book, understandeth not the very state of the question between us; for that we hold not Christ's body in the Sacrament to be organical, in that manner as Cranmer here imagineth, with external dimensions and proportions of members, as he lived upon earth, though truly organical in another manner, without extension to place." (Three Conv. iii. 272.) Any readers who wish for more information of this kind may find an abundance of it in Foxe and Persons. As, however, such matter is not likely to prove generally acceptable, it appeared desirable to pass cursorily over these wearisome disputations: especially, since ample means of ascertaining the opinions of the parties respectively, upon the points at issue, have already been supplied.

their own choosing. To these reasonable desires, however, but little attention was paid[k].

On the following day, Bishop Ridley was brought into the Divinity-school, and he met there with the same kind of treatment that Cranmer had encountered on the preceding day. In his opening address to the auditory, he thus adverted to the change which had taken place in his opinions: "I have thought otherwise in times past than I do now, yet, God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not, I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or laws; either for the dread of any dangers of this world; either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of God, as I am undoubtedly persuaded, in his holy Word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers." He then proceeded to comment upon the verbal ambiguities of the articles upon which he was required to dispute. Of his criticism that portion is especially worthy of notice which treats of the phrase, "By the virtue of God's Word;" because Romanists habitually use such terms to entrap the unwary by mere sophistry. According to their own assertions they receive no articles of faith which are not derived from God's Word. But they generally forget to add that among them, the phrase, God's Word, means both Scripture and unwritten tradition. Ridley thus handled this equivocation. "There is a double

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 483.

sense in these words, *By the virtue of God's Word*, for it is doubtful what Word of God this is: whether it be that which is read in the Evangelists, or in Paul; or any other. Or if it be that which is in the Evangelists, or in St. Paul; what that is. If it be in none of them, then, how it may be known to be God's Word, and of such virtue, that it should be able to work so great a matter." The disputation was, of course, conducted, as had been that of the former day, with the intricate technicalities of mode and figure. Perhaps, it may be thought that both Cranmer and Ridley would have done more wisely, if they had wholly refused to concern themselves with these frothy subtleties, and had rested their case upon a critical comparison of texts, and upon the testimony both direct and inferential, which establishes the novelty of a belief in transubstantiation. But this obvious mode of arguing was not in accordance with the habits of the age; and it was no doubt satisfactory to the Reformers that their principal champions were able, under extreme disadvantages, to defend their opinions in the manner which had long been agreeable to popular prejudice [1].

[1] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 485. Foxe, 1322. Bp. Ridley's treatment at this time will best appear from his own account of it, which he prepared by way of preface to his published disputation. "I never yet in all my life saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously than the disputation which was had with me of late, in the schools, at Oxford. And surely I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found any within this realm, being of any knowledge, learning, and ancient degree of school, so brasen-faced, and so

On Wednesday, the venerable Latimer was

shameless, as to behave themselves so vainly, and so like stage-players as they did in that disputation. The Sorbonical clamours which, at Paris, when Popery most reigned, I, in time past, have seen, might be worthily thought, in comparison of this Thrasonical and glorious ostentation, to have had much modesty. Howbeit, it was not to be wondered at, for that they which should there have been moderators, and rulers of others, and which should have given a good example in word, gravity, &c. as Paul teacheth, gave the worst example of all, and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to other to rage, rail, roar, and cry out. By reason whereof, good Christian reader, it is manifest that they never sought for any truth, but only for the glory of the world, and a bragging victory. But besides the innumerable railings, rebukes, and taunts wherewith I was baited on every side, lest our cause, which, indeed, is God's cause, and his Church's, should also by the false examples of our disputations, be evil-spoken of and slandered, and so the verity sustain hurt and hindrance thereby, I have thought good to write my answers myself, that whosoever is desirous to know them, and the truth withal, may thereby perceive those things which were chiefly objected against me, and also in effect, what was answered of me to every of them. Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth all that was, God knoweth, tumultuously spoken, and like as of madmen objected of so many, which spake often-times huddle, so that one could not well hear another: either all that was answered of me briefly to such and so divers opponents. Moreover a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly spent in most contumelious taunts, hissings, clapping of hands, and triumphs more than tolerable even in stage-plays, and that in the English tongue to get the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with godly grief did suffer, and therewithal did openly bewail and witness, that that company of learned men, which were appointed to grave men and to grave matters, were contaminate and defiled by such foolish and Robin-Hood pastimes, and that they which were the doers of such things, did but

brought into the schools, amidst the taunts, hisses, and laughter of every unfeeling spectator. He was

thereby openly shew their vanity; I was so far, by much humble complaint, from doing good, or helping any thing at all, that I was enforced, what with hissing and shouting, and what with authority, to hear such great reproaches and slanders uttered against me, as no grave man, without blushing, could abide the hearing of the same spoken of a most vile knave against a most wretched ruffian. At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confined mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that after the manner of disputations, before I could make an end of my probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cryed out, He speaketh blasphemies, blasphemies, blasphemies. And when I, on my knees, most humbly and heartily besought them, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, whereat the Prolocutor, somewhat moved, as it seemed, cryed out, Let him read it, Let him read it; yet when I again began to read it, there was by and bye such a cry and noise, Blasphemies, Blasphemies, as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like, except it be one which was, in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up by Demetrius, the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Great is Diana of the Ephesians; and except it were a certain disputation which the Arians had, against the Orthodoxes, and such as were of godly judgment in Afric: where it is said, that such as the presidents and rulers of the disputation were, such was also the end of the disputation. All was done in hurly burly, and the slanders of the Arians were so outrageous, that nothing could quietly be heard. So writeth Victor in the second book of his history. And thus the cries and tumults of these men against me now so prevailed, that whether I would or no, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were but short. And of the truth hereof I have all those that were present, being of any honesty or discretion, my witnesses. But hereof will I cease to complain any farther." Letters of the Martyrs, 76.

very feeble, and begged that he might not be long detained, as he felt himself wholly unequal to bear any considerable degree of fatigue. He requested also, that the business of the day should be conducted entirely in English, the disuse of twenty years having rendered him unable to speak Latin with fluency or propriety. He must decline, he added, the respondent's place, being totally unfit for a scholastic disputation; and he, therefore, tendered an exposition of his opinions upon paper, written, he declared, with great difficulty, his usual aid, an amanuensis, having been denied him. "After you have read this protestation of my faith," the good old man then nobly said, "you may do your pleasure with me." In his writing, Latimer observed upon the first article, asserting the corporal presence, that it was obscurely and unscripturally worded. He denied, however, plainly any other Divine presence in the Eucharist than a spiritual one, confined to the faithful. The second article, asserting transubstantiation, he flatly pronounced unscriptural, absurd, false; a mere invention of man, the mother, and the nurse of other errors, and akin to Nestorianism. The third article, assigning a propitiatory character to the mass, he treated as presumptuous, derogating from the dignity and efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, unauthorised by Holy Writ, and even plainly repugnant to it. The paper concluded with the following address to Dr. Weston: "O Sir, you may chance to live until you come to my age and weakness. I have spoken in my time before two kings, more than once, two or three hours together, with-

out interruption. But now, that I may speak the truth by your leave, I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but an heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass. The which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to shew what I meant by my metaphor. But, Sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean. The first, is the Popish consecration; which hath been called a God's body-making. The second, is transubstantiation. The third, is missal oblation. The fourth, adoration. These chief portions and points incident to the mass, and most esteemed in the same, I call its marrow-bones. I have heard much talk of Master Doctor Weston in my time, but I never knew your person till I came before you as the Queen's Majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right a judgment, as I perceive you have great wit and learning, with many other good qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance that He who dwelleth on high looketh on the low things of the earth; that there is no counsel against the Lord; as also, that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey princes, yet are we limited how far; that is, so long as they do not command things against the manifest truth. But

now they do. Therefore, we must say with Peter and John: *We ought to obey God, rather than men*[m]. I mean none other resistance, but to offer our lives to the death, rather than to commit any evil against the majesty of God, and his most holy and true Word. But this I say unto you, if the Queen have any pernicious enemies within her realm, those they be who cause her to maintain idolatry, and to whet her sword of justice in the blood of her people. There be some so corrupt in mind, the faith being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. It is nothing but plain ignorance to know any thing without Christ; whereas, whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough. It is not out of the way to remember what St. Austin saith: where, I now well remember not. *Whosoever teacheth any thing as necessary to be believed, which is not contained in the Old or New Testament, the same is accursed.* Oh, beware of this curse, if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: *Whatsoever is taught, as necessarily to be believed, besides the Holy Scripture, that is sin.* Oh, take heed of this sin. You have changed the most Holy Communion into a private action, and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary

[m] Acts v. 29.

to Christ's commandment; and you blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come, for you have changed the Common Prayer, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known tongue, into one that is foreign and unknown, contrary to the Lord's will revealed in his Word. God open your heart to see the things which you should see herein. I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen."

The Prolocutor having read a part of Latimer's paper, thus addressed him: "Then you refuse to dispute! Will you subscribe?" The aged prisoner again excused himself from disputing, on the grounds of his age and debility; and he repeated his refusal to subscribe. Weston told him, on this, that they would find the marrow-bones of the mass in his New Testament. Latimer asserted that a Communion only could be found there. The Prolocutor asked, "Which Communion; the first, or the last?" sarcastically referring to the alterations which had been made in the service. A frivolous conversation followed upon St. Paul's account of the institution of the Holy Supper. Latimer's opponents, in this endeavoured to embarrass him by citing words from the original Greek; a language not commonly studied when he was young, and of which he professed himself ignorant. He was then asked whether he had not devoutly said mass himself. His answer was, "Yea, and I cry God's mercy heartily for it." Weston's next question was: "Where learned you

this new fangleness?" Latimer replied: "I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the Sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years. My Lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter." These words drew the following arithmetical criticism from Dr. Tresham: "There are in that book six hundred errors." It was then said to the prisoner: "You were once a Lutheran." His reply was: "No. I was a Papist. For I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation." Weston now adverted to some of those morbid hallucinations which Luther foolishly committed to paper, thus taking care, that at least some portion of his writings should afford intense delight to Romanists: "Luther," said he, "in his book, *De Privata Missa*, tells us, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good." Latimer answered: "I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow." A desultory conversation followed, in the course of which, the prisoner expressed his conviction that the Popish Church had erred as to the Eucharist within the last five hundred years. At one time, Weston, adverting with indecent levity to the substitution of a table for an altar, said that Austin proves "a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar, and no oyster-board." At another time, he declared that the recent changes had all

one end in view, namely, to spoil and rob the Church. As the rapine which gave occasion to this reflexion was disapproved by the clerical Reformers, Latimer thus met Weston's assertion: "These things pertain nothing unto me. I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own." The Prolocutor then, affecting an air of kindness, repeated the silly, presumptuous assertion that Popery and salvation are inseparably connected. Those who brought Protestant opinions to England, he continued, were mere apostates running away from Germany for fear of the faggot, "a sort of apes who could not tell which way to turn their tails," standing at the table first on one side, then on another[n]: people, who came to the Communion with no reverence; who made, as Hilary says, a faith every year, and every month. A runagate Scot[o] had sufficient authority with them to procure the insertion in the last Communion-book of an heretical censure upon the adoration of Christ in the Sacrament[p]. You

[n] In King Edward's first service-book, the priest, in the Communion-office, was to stand, as heretofore, in front of the altar. The second book directed him to stand on the north side.

[o] "Weston alludes to Alexander Ales, or Alesius, a Scottish exile, who translated the first Liturgy of Edward VI. into Latin. He was a man of considerable learning, and became professor of theology at Leipsic, where he died in 1556. While in England, he lived at Lambeth, on terms of great friendship with Latimer, which, perhaps, was the occasion of Weston's abuse." Note to Dr. Watkins's Life of Latimer prefixed to his sermons, cili.

[p] Reference here is made to the rubric placed at the end of the reviewed Communion-office, which declares, that the recei-

never agreed with the Swiss, or with the Germans, or with the Church, or with yourselves [q]. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we all see by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold [r]? The Queen's Grace is merciful, if ye will turn." To this volley of rudeness and absurdity, the abused prisoner thus replied: "You shall have no hope of me to turn. I pray for the

pients are directed to kneel as a mark of humility, not with the view of paying divine honours to the elements.

[q] This was a customary taunt of the Romanists founded upon the variations from King Edward's first service-book, which appeared in his second. But nothing can be more absurd; as these alterations affected not matters of faith. The non-essentials of public worship are open to ecclesiastical regulation, and have been, very allowably, ordered variously, not only in different churches, but also in the same church. Romish liturgists will inform us that their own service has not always been exactly in its present state; and likewise, that the Ambrosian, Gallican, Mozarabic, and other missals have been lawfully used among religious societies which they courteously describe as Catholic. Cardinal Bona decides, accordingly, that the faith alone admits of no mutation, while rites, ceremonies, and discipline may blamelessly be varied upon good grounds, by competent authority. "Solus fidei canon, ut supra diximus, inconcussus, et immutabilis est; cætera quæ ad ritus et disciplinam pertinent, justa interveniente causa, sine reprehensione mutari possint." Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo: auctore J. Bona, S. R. E. Card. Par. 1672. p. 37.

[r] This appears to be a proverbial expression, denoting the absence of something valuable. A feoffer is one who gives to another the possession of any property; thereby, of course, allowing it to go from his own grasp.

Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion[s]" At eleven o'clock, in the forenoon, this disgraceful attempt to browbeat and embarrass one despoiled by age and infirmity of almost every weapon, except an invincible constancy, was brought to a close. The results of this exhibition must have been foreseen, for Latimer was now completely broken, and at no time had he been esteemed an able scholar. He was known merely as a zealous, artless, upright, and effective preacher of the Gospel. He was, indeed, far from indifferent to professional information. But his object in reading appears chiefly to have been the preparation of matter for the pulpit. He left polemical labours to others, probably better adapted for them; and it is likely less fitted than himself for the important work of dispensing orally popular instruction.

On the day following that of Latimer's appearance in the schools, Harpsfield went through the exercises prescribed to candidates for the degree of doctor in divinity. The opportunity seemed favourable for making some shew of fairness towards the illustrious prisoners; and Cranmer, accordingly, was now brought forward from his dungeon to act as opponent. Harpsfield commenced the business of the morning by commendations of the Scriptures, observing, that our Saviour enjoined his disciples to "search the Scriptures[t];" that the Psalmist said, "the law of the Lord is perfect, converting the

[s] Foxe, 1326.
[t] St. John v. 39.

soul[u];" that St. Paul wrote to Timothy, "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness[x]." The cautious disputant took care, however, to introduce these texts by asserting, that such as examine the sacred volume without deferring implicitly to the judgment of the Church, will find the employment lead them into error, and not into truth. How Romanists understand the word "Church," is well known, and it is therefore not surprising that Harpsfield, in displaying the dangers of biblical reading, should have thus expressed himself: "If the often reading of Scriptures, and the never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils." This indeed is a brief, but a very correct mode of accounting for the anxiety discovered by the Roman Church, during six hundred years, to withdraw from general inspection the record of our holy faith. Honest men of competent intellect and information, who should carefully compare one text with another, and deduce the sense of the inspired volume from a skilful consideration of parallel passages, would easily prevail against all those combinations of worldly men, intent upon securing their own interests, and upon riveting the prejudices of their age, which, under the name of general councils, have moved obediently at the papal will. Cranmer remarked at once the injudi-

[u] Psalm xix. 7.
[x] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

cious concessions with which Harpsfield opened his disputation, and thus addressed him: "I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently treat of the dignity of the Scriptures; which I do both commend and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the Catholic Church, you are much deceived; especially for that, under the name of the Church, you appoint such judges as have judged corruptly, and in contradiction to the sense of Scripture. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of Scripture, seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you have yourself alleged." The Archbishop then remarked of the carnal presence, which was to be the subject of discussion, that it seemed to him destitute of any foundation in Scripture, or ecclesiastical antiquity, and that even the schoolmen had treated of it in no uniform or satisfactory manner. He apologised also for any inelegancies which might be remarked in his Latin, saying, that he had been unused to speak that language during many years. He then asked, "In what manner, according to your mind or determination, is Christ's body present in the Sacrament?" One of the doctors immediately pressed forward with this answer: "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance." Perhaps Harpsfield's reply was something more luminous. It was this: "He is there in such sort or manner as that he may be eaten." Cranmer next enquired, "Has our Lord's body in the Sacrament its proper

quantity and qualities, its form, figure, and so forth?" This question staggered the assembly, and occasioned an universal buz. Harpsfield sought to elude it, by desiring his interrogator's opinion upon a senseless and indecent doubt agitated among the schoolmen as to the effect of Christ's birth upon Mary's virginity. But Cranmer troubled himself with no such fooleries. He merely said, "You answer me with a question, and not with a reply. I must therefore ask again what I asked before." While the respondent stood mute in anxious search for his logic, Tresham hazarded the following answer: "Christ's body in the Sacrament hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body." This hasty reply, savouring more of common sense than of Romish orthodoxy, Smyth immediately thus corrected it: "Stay you, Master Tresham, I will answer you with the words of Damascene: *The bread is transformed.* But if thou wilt enquire how, *the manner is impossible.*" This quotation, however, appeared to be generally considered as none of the happiest, for murmurs were heard throughout the school, and two or three other answers were supplied. At last Harpsfield said, "Such questions are vain; it is not meet to spend time upon them." Weston also thus cut the knot: "Lanfranc, once Archbishop of Canterbury, answered in the following manner similar questions asked by Berenger, *These things may safely be believed, but not faithfully asked.*" Still Cranmer insisted upon a reply. The respondent therefore found himself driven to say, "Christ is present in the Sacrament, as it pleaseth him to be present there."

His illustrious opponent immediately rejoined, "With that answer I should be very well contented, if your tenet of the carnal presence did not oblige me, for the sake of disputation, yet to press my question." Many and contradictory answers were now supplied. Some affirmed that our Lord's body in the Eucharist had quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity: others pronounced it quantitative[y]: others again denied these assertions. At length an eminent dialectician, named Ward, arose, and spoke very learnedly for a considerable time. But his harangue proved so very obscure, that the most expert scholastics among his auditors were unable to discover his precise object. Quantity and quantitativity seemed, however, to be the beacons by which he guided his wits through this thorny maze. "We must remember," said he, "that there are two positions; the one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole; the other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the Sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's predicaments, called situation. I remember I did intreat these matters very largely when I did moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is *sine modo quantitativo:* as by an ensample, you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude, that he is in the Sacrament *quantum sine modo quantitativo.*" Foxe adds to this explanation: "These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into

[y] Quantitativum.

the heavens with Duns his ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling." There was now a tangible point presented to the opponent, and Cranmer thus made use of it: "In heaven, it is affirmed, Christ's body hath quantity, but on earth it hath none; therefore he hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other on earth." Some of those about the respondent would have persuaded him to answer, that Christ's body has quantity in both places; but he contented himself with simply denying the soundness of the argument. On this, Cranmer said, "My reasoning is good; it standeth upon contradictions; as thus: to have the mode of quantitavity, and not to have it, are contradictories: but Christ, as you say, has the mode of quantitavity in heaven, on earth he has it not: therefore he has two bodies, for these contradictories cannot happen to the same body." Harpsfield endeavoured to overthrow this syllogism by logical refinements. Weston imitated his example, concluding with the following illustration: "One body may have wounds, and not wounds." The Archbishop replied, "This cannot be at one time." Weston rejoined, "I will prove what I say by the ensample of a potter, who, of that which is clay now, maketh a cup forthwith." Cranmer, after observing that this instance was nothing more to the purpose than to confound raw meat with sodden meat, because every piece in the latter state had once been in the former one, proceeded to ask, whether bad men, as well as good ones, eat Christ's body in the Sacrament. "Yea, bad men do so," Harpsfield answered,

"even as the sun doth shine not only upon kings' palaces, but also upon dung-heaps." Cranmer then enquired, "How long tarrieth Christ in the eater?" The respondent said, "These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked." His interrogator observed, "I have taken them from your schools and schoolmen, authorities most in use among yourselves, and from these quarters have also learned to enquire, how far Christ goeth into the body." Harpsfield replied, "The body goes as far as the species go." "And how long does it stay?" resumed Cranmer. One of the doctors now said, that it is unimportant to know how far Christ's body goes, and whither it is conveyed. Two others deprecated all questions of this nature. Harpsfield complained, that his opponent, after charging them with adding to Scripture, and asserting that men must thence only seek the truth, was now himself moving questions out of the schoolmen. Cranmer said, "I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine. And yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument: they which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them. But the wicked do not dwell in him, nor he in them. Therefore the wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood." This syllogism being met by mere verbal quibbling, the Archbishop offered the following one to the same effect: "Only they who partake of Christ

are of his mystical body; but evil men are not of his mystical body; therefore they do not partake of Christ." By this time it became evident that the disputation might be spun out indefinitely; because Cranmer possessed not only an acute understanding, great self-possession, and an extensive acquaintance with sound theology, but he was also deeply versed in the recorded dreams of schoolmen, and in all the frivolous technicalities of their cherished dialectics. It was therefore deemed expedient to dispense with his farther opponency; and, accordingly, Weston thus courteously addressed him: "Your wonderfully gentle behaviour, good Master Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in mine own name, and in the names of all my brethren." The doctors then, turning towards the reverend prisoner, civilly put off their caps; giving him at least the satisfaction of returning to his cell after witnessing something of those humanised manners, which scholars have a right to expect from each other, and which the cultivation of literature is justly believed to spread among mankind[z].

On Friday, the 20th of April, the three sufferers for conscience' sake were again brought to St. Mary's, before the commissioners. Dr. Weston then addressed them severally, intreating them to sign the articles, and asserting that they had been overcome in disputation. When he had ended his

[z] Foxe, 1329.

speech, they would fain have entered into some farther explanation of their opinions; but this liberty was utterly refused to them. They were told that they must directly and peremptorily say whether they would subscribe, or no. Cranmer answered: "You have asserted, Master Prolocutor, that I have both answered and opposed; and that I can neither maintain my own errors, nor impugn the verity. All this is untrue. For I was not allowed to oppose as I would, nor could I answer as I desired, unless I had chosen to brawl with your party; so thickly, one upon the other, did their reasons come. Ever did four or five interrupt me, so that I could not speak what I would." Ridley and Latimer merely replied to Weston's address by saying that they would stand to the opinions which they had already delivered. The three were then placed together, and a written sentence was read, pronouncing them excommunicated, and condemning as heretics themselves, their fautors, and patrons. Before he had completed his task, the reader stopped, and it was asked of the prisoners whether they would recant. "Read on, in the name of God:" was their noble and unanimous reply. When the reading was concluded, Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." Ridley thus addressed his judges, "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than would, in all probability,

the common course of nature." The venerable Latimer's answer was characteristic of the man, and worthy of his cause. "I thank God most heartily," said that admirable example of holy zeal and unbending integrity, "that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may in this case glorify God by this kind of death." Weston then said, "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I shall never come thither, as I am persuaded [a]." However willing these three most illustrious members of the English prelacy were to confirm the nation's faith, by the sacrifice of their lives, they complained loudly of the treatment which, as scholars, they had received. The insults and interruptions which they experienced were, indeed, most disgraceful to the University, and to the commissioners. But the prelates appear to have been most concerned because no opportunity was allowed them of affording a sufficient explanation of their principles. Upon the corporal presence alone was there even an appearance of a disputation. Transubstantiation and the mass were passed over without the slightest notice. Yet they were required peremptorily to affirm all the three questions [b]. A promise also was publicly given to Ridley,

[a] Foxe, 1330.

[b] "When Master Prolocutor did put forth three propositions, he did command us to answer particularly to them all. After our answers, neither he, nor his fellows did ever enter into any disputation of any one of them, saving only the first. Yea, when he had asked us after disputations of the first whether we would subscribe to the whole, in such sort, form, and words as they are set forth, without farther disputation, (which thing we denied)

that he should be allowed an opportunity of bringing forward new proofs in support of his opinions. Of this pledge, however, the fulfilment was wholly overlooked[c]. The Protestants generally exulted in the noble conduct displayed by the three of their most distinguished champions. "I thank God heartily in Christ," wrote Dr. Rowland Taylor to them, "for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory[d]." The very conduct of the disputations at Oxford was, indeed, an advantage to the Reforming party. By it, not only the bigoted and arbitrary disposition of those who were in power was glaringly displayed; but also men of candour saw that the principal Romish doctrine could only be defended by means of embarrassing logical refinements, and that even these could easily be rendered ineffective by an able disputant on the contrary side.

This week of injustice was concluded by a grand mass, celebrated on Saturday morning, and attended by one of those shewy processions, which form part of the machinery that enables the Roman Church to delight the senses of men, without enlightening their minds. Dr. Weston, upon this occasion, carried

by and by he gave sentence against us all." Bp. Ridley's address to his readers, Letters of the Martyrs, 112.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid. 171.

the consecrated wafer, and four doctors held a canopy over it. While this impious pageantry was slowly winding through the streets of Oxford, Archbishop Cranmer was compelled to remain at the gratings of his cell in Bocardo. Ridley was also made to present himself at a window of the house in which he was detained. The bailiff, under whose roof Latimer lived a prisoner, appears to have been situated so as not to command a view from his apartments of the unchristian spectacle. His venerable charge was, accordingly, desired to follow him into the street. The good old man, being left unacquainted with the object of this summons, naturally supposed that he was immediately to glorify God at the stake. He, therefore, said, "Make a quick fire;" and followed cheerfully at his keeper's bidding. Having reached Carfax, his eye caught the cherished object of a Romanist's adoration. Latimer had, however, with honest, humble diligence pondered the recorded Word of God, and hence he had become aware, that to lavish upon the petty produce of a baker's ordinary toil the honours due alone to Omnipotence is plain impiety and folly. Nor could he forget that as a Christian is to shine like a light in the world [e], he is bound to rebuke by example at least, if not by words, the spiritual blindness of all around him. He, therefore, suffered no weak indulgence for prevailing prejudices to wrest from him even any appearance of worshipping the uplifted bread to which the bended knee was rendering

[e] St. Matt. v. 16.

homage on every side; but abruptly turning round on the first sight of it, he retreated with as much speed as his infirmities allowed into a neighbouring shop. Nor would he look towards the street until the procession had entirely passed[f].

On the following Monday, the learned strangers who had been commissioned to attend the disputations, departed from Oxford. Before he went Weston was requested to carry the following letter from Cranmer to the Council, and he consented to take charge of it. "In most humble wise sueth unto your most honourable Lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the Queen's Highness for her mercy and pardon. *Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord, King Edward the vi., and what I spake against the same: wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours*[g]. Fur-

[f] Foxe, 1330.

[g] "The Archbishop (Cranmer) *if we may believe his own statement*, had requested a private interview with the King," &c. (Lingard, vii. 140.) The historian here cites the letter written by Cranmer to the Queen immediately after his condemnation as a traitor. He was not very likely, even had he been as bad as Romish malignity has painted him, to offer a false account to Mary; for she was surrounded by persons capable of exposing such a statement immediately. We hear not, however, any thing of such an exposure. Cranmer evidently was under no apprehension of this disgrace; for we find him here appealing to the very persons, now his persecutors, who knew the facts to which he refers, for a confirmation of them. Assuredly, there-

thermore, this is to signify unto your Lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last, were open disputations, here in Oxford, against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the Sacrament. First, of the real presence, secondly, of transubstantiation, and thirdly, concerning the sacrifice of the mass. How the other two were used, I cannot tell, for we were separated; so that none of us knew what the other said, nor how they were ordered. *But as concerning myself, I can report, that I never knew, nor heard of a more confused disputation in all my life. For albeit there was one appointed to dispute against me, yet every man spake his mind, and brought forth what him liked, without order; and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be given fully to any argument, and in such weighty and large matters there was no remedy, but the disputations must needs be ended in one day, which can scantly well be ended in three months*[h]. And when we had an-

fore, we *may*, and very safely too, believe the Archbishop's "own statement."

[h] Dr. Lingard, in a note, (vii. 272.) after citing the chief part of this passage, adds the following words: "This is an exact counterpart to the complaints of the Catholics respecting similar disputations in the time of Edward." Where these "complaints" are to be found, we are not informed. Sanders, undoubtedly, tells us, in his very brief account of the disputation with Peter Martyr, at Oxford, that Dr. Cox, finding the learned Florentine severely pressed, broke off the discussion, "an imprudence which gained him universal infamy." Then after saying

swered them, then they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us

that Martyr published a false account of his disputation, and that he was twice overcome at Oxford, he thus intelligibly closes his notice of these matters: "Similar was the end of that disputation which the Cambridge theologues held with Bucer." (De Schism. 224.) The passage, probably, which Dr. Lingard had in view when he penned his note, is the following one, which occurs in the preface affixed by Persons, the Jesuit, to his *Review of Ten Public Disputations*, (1603, p. 17.) "You shall see complaints on both sides of inequality used." In the next page, after some immaterial flourishes, this author says, "Albeit there want not complaints of the Protestant party, for that divers sometimes are said to have spoken together, and one man to have put himself into the prosecution of another man's argument, somewhat disorderly, as to them it seemed; yet touching the things themselves, to wit, the arguments and proofs there laid forth and prosecuted, there were so many clear, weighty, and substantial, as the reader will confess there was no time lost in those three days' disputations by the Catholic party." Respecting the conduct of the first disputation, under King Edward, Persons only complains that the question of the real presence was discussed before that of transubstantiation. His words are these: "This manifest fraud was used, that whereas the first, about transubstantiation, dependeth of the second, of the real presence, it should have been handled in the second place, and not in the first," (p. 37.) A fraudulent arrangement of the questions for discussion is also charged upon the second disputation holden at Cambridge, (40.) This is described as "a very cold and trifling thing, much of the time being spent in ceremonial words of courtesy, much in impertinent excursions from the purpose, out of all scholastical form of disputing, or straining the defendant, and when any thing drew near to urge or press, either the moderator would divert the same by intruding himself, or the proctors, by their authority, would interrupt it," (44.) With respect to the third disputation, Persons quotes the following passage from Langdale, who was present: "All that were indifferent did see matters to be handled

again, being required of me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say than can well be discussed in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer to all that we could say. But why they would not answer

with great inequality, for that whosoever spake for the Catholic side, presently his speech was either interrupted, or for brevity shifted off to another time; and Ridley, that was captain of all, stepping in at every turn to assist his defendant, did either with threats or fair words, or by scoffs and bitter taunts, seek to divert the Catholic disputers," (49.) Of the fourth disputation Persons thus speaks: "It had neither order, method, nor substance in it, but was a most ridiculous colloquy of one to another, without urging or answering any one argument substantially; but as little beagles lying together, one starteth up and giveth a bark or two, and lieth down again; so these disputers, answerers, and moderator handled the matter," (52.) Again, it is said of Ridley's moderating, that "at every turn he made himself defendant," (53.) What is entitled the fifth disputation is in fact a comment upon Bp. Ridley's judgment, and the complaint here is, that the prelate "pretermitted the very chief and principal question indeed, whereof all the rest dependeth, which is the real presence." Under the sixth disputation we read nothing but an invective against Bucer and his opinions. Now this whole mass of matter contains, it should be observed, no complaint from any one present at the scenes under consideration, excepting Langdale; and his complaint amounts to this: with the Romish disputants some management was used by the other party, and they met with some interruption; the only person, however, who grossly misbehaved himself was Bp. Ridley! He threatened, scoffed, and taunted! Let Langdale's account of this Cambridge disputation be compared with the complaints made by both Cranmer and Ridley as to their treatment in the schools at Oxford, and then let it be determined whether the two cases are exactly, or even nearly parallel.

us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared the matter, that they were not able to answer us; or else, as by their haste might well appear, they came not to speak the truth, but to condemn us in post-haste before the truth might be thoroughly tried and heard; for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresy upon Friday. This much I thought good to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment hereof unto your wisdoms; and I beseech your Lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the Queen's Majesty, and I shall pray, as I do daily, to God, for the long preservation of your good Lordships in all godliness and felicity[j]." This letter did not, however, reach its destination; for when the Prolocutor had accomplished the half of his journey, he determined to read it, and having done so, he rudely returned it to the writer[k].

Before his former University acquaintances proceeded homewards, Bishop Ridley had the satisfaction of receiving a visit from Dr. Young, who succeeded him in the mastership of Pembroke-hall, Dr. Glyn, the President of Queen's College in Cambridge, and Dr. Oglethorpe, the President of Magdalen College in Oxford. Ridley having been upon terms of friendship with Glyn, was extremely hurt by the conduct pursued towards him in the schools by that individual. The President himself was

[j] Letters of the Martyrs, 16.
[k] Foxe, 1331.

pained by a review of it; and, much to his honour, he came to apologise. The imprisoned prelate readily admitted his excuse, assured him of his cordial forgiveness, prayed God to enlighten his mind with a just perception of divine truth, and expressed his earnest hope that both of them, their offences of all kinds being mercifully remitted, would eventually meet in heaven[1]. Before the Prolocutor set off for London, Ridley wrote an expostulatory letter to him, reminding him that he had promised to submit his disputation to his own perusal, for the purpose of receiving at his hands such corrections or additions as in this revision it might seem desirable to make. He says also, that having professed his ability to allege many confirmations and arguments which were not produced in the schools, he was informed both by Weston and his brother commissioners, that he should have another opportunity for thus strengthening his case. "Now that this was not done," modestly adds the oppressed prelate, "but so suddenly sentence given, before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel." He concludes by charging the Prolocutor, in God's name, to exhibit his written answers to the three articles, together with that letter, to the Upper House of Convocation, especially taking care that the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishops Tunstall, Goodrich, Thirlby, Heath, and Day should see these papers[m]. Ridley contrived also the means of sending his answers to the three articles to Cran-

[1] Life of Bp. Ridley, 510.

[m] Letters of the Martyrs, 79.

mer, together with a letter. In this he regrets that he had been deprived of an opportunity to submit the replies to his reverend metropolitan before they were presented to the commissioners; but he expresses his trust, that he and his friend had in substance agreed with each other. He thought evidently that the termination of his earthly trials was at hand, and as his mind was fully prepared for the passage to a Christian's everlasting home, he was anxious to be gone. "I trust," he piously says, "the day of deliverance out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and to perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh. The Lord strengthen us with his mighty spirit of grace!"[n]

The court, however, in its eager thirst for innocent blood, had outrun its powers, and the principal victims, in consequence, though now ready for immolation, were long kept in suspense. Mary had denounced her ecclesiastical prerogatives as schismatical, and had ceased to claim them, unless tacitly, for the purpose of oppressing her Protestant subjects. Bishop Boner, accordingly, omitted, in his instrument for summoning the Convocation, any mention of the authority by which he acted[o]. In

[n] Foxe, 1331.

[o] Life of Bp. Ridley, 513. The insufficiency of existing laws to furnish authority for burning the prelates who lay under condemnation at Oxford, appears to have been a matter of notoriety during the whole summer; for Ridley, writing to Bradford about the close of autumn, thus expresses himself: "Before the Parliament began, it was a rumour here, that certain from the Convocation-house was appointed, yea ready to have come to Oxford,

fact, as the papal authority was contrary to statute, and as the Queen had unconstitutionally pretended to relinquish her controling power over the national church, England was now left, ostensibly, without any paramount ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This ambiguous posture of affairs naturally embarrassed Mary's advisers, and on the 3rd of May, the three prisoners at Oxford occasioned some discussion at the council-board. It was then determined, that the Mayor of Oxford should be desired to present a statement of expences incurred on account of the prelates, "and farther it was resolved by their Lordships, that the judges, and the Queen's Highness' counsel, learned, should be called together, and their opinions demanded what they think in law her Highness may do touching the causes of the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being already by both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge judged to be obstinate heretics; which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted [p]." From this entry it

and then was spied out one thing to lack for want of a law to perform their intent." Letters of the Martyrs, 67.

[p] Proceedings of Privy Council. Collier observes that the sentence passed against the three prelates was irregular because pronounced only by priests; whereas, it was established as a maxim of ecclesiastical jurisprudence ever since the council of Carthage, holden in 419, that bishops are to be tried by those of their own order. "However," he adds, "I do not find either Cranmer, or the other two bishops insisting upon the privilege of their character, and moving for judges of their own degree." (Eccl. Hist. ii. 369.) Cranmer and Ridley, probably, thought very little of their cases in any legal point of view. They seem,

might seem that very serious doubts were entertained among her Majesty's advisers as to the possibility of burning the three prelates, under the sentence recently passed upon them, without setting every received maxim of English jurisprudence utterly at defiance; and that, consequently, some members of the board had suggested that it would be expedient to get rid of Cranmer by executing him as a traitor. But this course was completely in the teeth of that sweeping and fierce intolerance by which it was desired that the national councils should be henceforth directed: it was obnoxious also to the manifest imputation of gross injustice; because Cranmer's political delinquencies had been lighter than those of many among Mary's cherished councillors, and because every man knew that her Majesty was under personal obligations to the Archbishop. As might be expected, therefore, it was not deemed advisable to single him out for punishment as a traitor. The result, indeed, of the deliberations upon his case, and upon those of his partners in condemnation, appears to have been

indeed, to have been merely anxious to exhibit the strength of their principles, and to have felt a magnanimous contempt for all considerations merely personal. But it is not unlikely, that this, among other objections to the validity of the proceedings at Oxford, might be agitated at the council-board. As for Latimer, he had long zealously served God in the pulpit, and being now incapacitated from continuing in that vocation by age, infirmity, and the blind rage of deluded men in power, he was perfectly willing to give an attestation to the honesty of his labours by the sacrifice of his life.

merely a conviction, that the whole affair called for delay. Until, in fact, England again underwent the yoke of papal Rome, holocausts were only prepared by domestic intolerance. The lurid glare of murderous pyres affrighted not every corner of the land ere the national authorities received encouragement from Italian auxiliaries.

During their protracted imprisonment at Oxford, the three prelates were treated capriciously, but usually with considerable rigour [q]. Even before they were called upon to dispute, their own servants were taken from them, and they were attended by persons appointed for that purpose by their enemies [r]. Cranmer's keeper executed his office with unnecessary harshness, refusing to messengers from Latimer or Ridley the liberty of communicating with him personally [s]. Another aggravation of their sufferings was the denial of pen and ink; so that commonly, they had no means of writing, unless by underhand means [t]. Ridley's discomforts were augmented also by the bigotry and ill temper of his hostess. The Bishop had spent his life in celibacy, at a period too when men of his own order were usually single. He had, therefore, seen but little, probably, of a conjugal life; and his close observation of it under the roof of his Oxford gaoler,

[q] "The manner of entreating doth change, as sour ale doth in summer." Ridley to Bradford, Letters of the Martyrs, 58.

[r] The same to Grindal, 53.

[s] The same to Cranmer, Foxe, 1331.

[t] The same to Grindal, *ut supra.*

appears to have occupied his mind at intervals, with reflections upon the hazard of marrying! "Of us three concaptives, at Oxford," he wrote to Grindal, (using Latin, for fear, perhaps, lest Mrs. Irish should gain a sight of his letter;) "I am kept most straitly, and with the least liberty; either, because in the house where I am detained, the wife rules the husband, (although he is Mayor of the city,) a morose and most superstitious old woman; who even thinks it for her credit to have it reported that she guards me most closely and cautiously: but the husband, Irish by name, is mild enough to every body, though to his wife more than too obsequious. Although I never had a wife, as you know, yet from my daily intercourse with this married couple, I think myself enabled to form some judgment, as to how grievous is the evil, and intolerable the yoke of one who is joined in wedlock with a bad wife. Rightly, therefore, said the wise man, *A prudent wife is from the Lord*[u]; and again, *A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband*[x]. Or this, I say, is the reason, because it has been commanded them from the higher powers, for what cause I know not, that such should be my usage: which, indeed, is the reason given to me, whenever I complain of the despotic treatment to which I am subjected in their house[y]." At times, all the three prelates appear to have been confined in Bocardo; but in separate

[u] Prov. xix. 14.
[x] Ibid. xii. 4.
[y] Ridley to Grindal, *ut supra*.

cells. While lodged in this miserable gaol, Bishop Heath, of Worcester, passed through Oxford, and Ridley naturally looked for a visit from him. Heath was considered a man of gentle disposition, and moderate principles; and during his hour of adversity, under King Edward, he had been lodged in easy durance at the Bishop of London's hospitable abode. But he now seemed to have forgotten his fallen entertainer's kindness, and passed his prison without deigning to take any notice of him. Indeed the recollection of Heath's journey through Oxford was rendered painful to his former friends, not only by his unfeeling, though politic neglect of them, but also by additional rigours then first imposed. Hitherto, their hours had been occasionally beguiled, and their devotions aided, by the use of the Communion-book. On the very day in which the Bishop of Worcester was travelling onwards within a few paces of their cells, the bailiffs required them, by an order from the Mayor, to give up this volume. At that time, also, they were restrained from walking upon a wall, from which they had been used to inhale, occasionally, the pure and refreshing air, as well as to hold some intercourse with individuals in the street. These scanty privileges were now, however, barbarously retrenched, and three men, scholars, gentlemen, of unblemished morals, and recently of elevated condition, were closely secluded in offensive dungeons. Their imprisonment was somewhat embittered by the prejudices of those around them. As the gaoler's underlings were sitting on one evening about the fire, a coal flew from the hearth, and

burnt a hole in the floor. When this trifling accident was known out of doors it was magnified into a desperate attempt of the prelates to break prison. On another evening a drunken fellow was brought into the gaol amidst a considerable clamour. Immediately an idle rumour ran about the town and neighbourhood, that the bishops had nearly succeeded in making their escape, and that the officers had not been able to disappoint them until after a very severe struggle. Their gaolers officiously acquainted the prisoners with these absurd reports, and thus gave them the mortification of knowing that the populace denied them even the credit of patience under their sufferings[a]. Their concern, however, was most excited by the conduct of those learned persons who lived in lettered ease, and abundance, all around them. "As yet," writes Ridley, "there was never learned man, or any scholar, or other, that visited us since we came to Bocardo[a]." In another letter, he thus reverts to the same subject. "The scholars, as we hear, bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered to any of us, so far as I know, any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause[b]." This disgraceful spirit of enmity or apathy was not, however, universal among the more unlettered and undistinguished inhabitants of Oxford. Honest townsmen contrived

[a] Ridley to Bradford, Letters of the Martyrs, 88.

[a] Ibid.

[b] The same to the same, 61.

the means of keeping up some communication between the prisoners and their friends without, and also gladly rendered them any other little services that lay in their power[c]. Nor again were they ever left without a reasonable supply of necessaries; as it seems likely that they would have been at one time, had they completely depended upon the mercy of their persecutors. Provisions, money, and shirts reached them from London; being kindly provided to relieve their wants, not only by acquaintances, but also by total strangers. Ridley's heart overflowed with pious gratitude when he reflected upon these alleviations of his trials. "It is God's work, surely," he wrote, "blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness." Again, he says, when speaking of his kind friends: "I know for whose sake they do it: to Him, therefore, be all honour, glory, and due thanks[d]."

[c] Ridley to Bradford, Letters of the Martyrs, 58.

[d] Ibid. The necessity for these supplies appears not to have existed uniformly. Towards the close of the year, it might seem, from the following passage in one of Ridley's letters to Bradford, that new cloaths were sent down, with some degree of publicity, to the incarcerated prelates: "I am sure you have heard of our new apparel, and I doubt not but London will have their talk of it. Sir, know you that although this seemeth to us in our case much thanks-worthy, yet have we not that apparel that we look for, for this in time will wear, and that we look for, rightly done on, will endure, and is called *the robe of immortality*." (Ibid. 68.) That the cloathing which had reached the prelates in this notorious manner was furnished at the public expence appears from a passage in another of Ridley's letters to Bradford, in which it is asked, "Do you not know, that we have food and raiment from the royal store-house?" (Ibid. 69.) The

Amidst all their troubles, however, neither Cranmer nor Ridley found in general their spirits flag, or health decline [e]. At intervals, indeed, the solitude, suspense, confinement, and other hardships, to which they were abandoned as a prey for so long a period, afflicted them with a season of depression. Ridley complains, accordingly, of having felt sometimes "a lumpish heaviness in his heart [f]." But these gloomy hours quickly passed away, and again returned those cheering anticipations to which the sufferers were indebted for habitual equanimity. The good old Latimer, having brought to the conflict the mere wreck of his corporeal frame, appears to have been injured more severely than his fellow victims. A fit of insanity clouded for awhile his honest mind [g]; but reason soon returned, and his mental eye was firmly

case of the three prelates as to these matters appears, therefore, to have been parallel with that of Bp. Fisher, under King Henry VIII. At first, no care was taken to supply necessaries, afterwards, attention was paid to this matter.

[e] "Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudgings, and restraints, we are merry in God, and all our care is, and shall be, by God's grace, to please and serve Him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter, and Paul, and all the blessed company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Ridley to Bradford, 59.) "Know you likewise, that we all here be, thanks to God, in good health and comfort, watching with our lamps light, I trust in God, when it shall please our Master, the bridegroom, to call us to wait upon him unto the marriage." The same to the same, 67.

[f] The same to the same, 69.

[g] The same to the same, 62.

fixed once more upon that enduring inheritance of rest and purity, which had ever been the pole-star of his earthly course.

Whenever opportunity was not absolutely denied them, the prelates contrived to make their hours pass with rapidity and interest by means of literary occupations. Latimer, indeed, was now altogether unequal to the labour of composition; but he repeatedly read over the whole New Testament with eager and delighted attention. His time, however, was chiefly spent in earnest prayer. So long was it his habit to remain thus engaged, that, without help, he was often unable to rise from his knees. His entreaties were especially directed to the strengthening of his own resolution, the restoration of a scriptural faith to the Church of England, and the Lady Elizabeth's safety. In praying for the scriptural renovation of his country, he was in the habit of repeating, with vehement emphasis, "once again, once again." When imploring Elizabeth's preservation, his aged cheeks were commonly bedewed with tears, and in his own alliterative language, he besought God to preserve her for "a comfort to the comfortless realm of England[h]." Cranmer employed himself in vindicating his *Catholic Doctrine* against the attack made upon it by Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Constantius[i]. Ridley also engaged in the Eucharistic controversy, animadverting upon Tunstall's work; upon

[h] Dedication to the Duchess of Suffolk, by Augustine Bernher, once Latimer's attendant, afterwards a minister of religion, prefixed to the second volume of Latimer's Sermons, xv.

[i] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 491.

the first book of it fully, upon the second sparingly. These annotations he seems to have considered as finished, and he was therefore anxious to have them transcribed, "lest perchance, together with himself, they should suddenly become the food of Vulcan[k]." Another of his occupations was the composition of a work in Latin, *upon the Abominations of the Roman See and Pontiffs*[l]. This piece appears to have been somewhat roughly put together[m]; but he considered the subject of great importance, and he felt anxious therefore to have his treatise fairly written out, and circulated. He, accordingly, entrusted his papers to Bernher for these purposes, and the movements of that faithful agent being for some time unknown to him, the prelate became uneasy as to the fate of his literary labours[n]. It was indeed his opinion, that controversialists engaged in exposing Romanism, ought to direct their attention mainly against transubstantiation, and the papal pretensions; as being the principal supports of that unscriptural system[o]. Hence he desired earnestly to leave behind

[k] Ridley to Bernher, Letters of the Martyrs, 71.

[l] Ridley to Bradford, ibid. 67.

[m] Ridley to Bernher, ibid. 71.

[n] Ridley to Bradford, *ut supra*.

[o] "Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methink I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his Gospel, his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue. These two, Sir, are they

him, when called upon to suffer, attacks upon Popery in these two particulars, as his legacy to Christendom[p]. Ridley's intellectual activity, and zeal for divine truth also, led him to form designs for rendering accessible to mere English readers various testimonies against Popery, which medieval authors furnish. His own situation admitted not extensive undertakings, and even forbade the hope that such would ever be within his power. His expectations of literary usefulness were, therefore, chiefly fixed upon others; especially upon Grimbold, once his

in my judgment: the one his false doctrine, and idolatrical use of the Lord's Supper; and the other the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom: by these two he driveth down mightily, alas! I fear me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonful, rotten posts he hath so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect of God. Wherefore John said, not without great cause, if any know not Satan's subtleties and the dungeons thereof, (Apoc. ii.) I will wish him no other burden to be laden withall. Sir, because these be his principal and main posts whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet will I not, God willing, cease to do the best that I can to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's Gospel. I have now already, I thank God for this present time, spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings." Ridley to Bradford, 63.

[p] Ridley to Bradford, 67.

chaplain. He suggested to that clergyman the service that he might render to sound religion by translating Valla's treatise in confutation of Constantine's pretended donation, and likewise a work by Æneas Sylvius upon the council of Basil. These pieces, he observes, are to be found, together with several others which expose the Roman see, in a well-known collection[q]. That volume appears to have rendered Ridley first acquainted accurately with the Waldenses, (of whose faith it contains an authentic statement), and to have occasioned in him that surprise, which may reasonably be expected to flow from a competent enquiry into the principles of those calumniated Christians. Romanists have industriously represented this Alpine remnant of an Apostolic age as a community of incorrigible and immoral heretics. Those, accordingly, who have never accurately examined ecclesiastical history, are commonly astonished to find a close identity between the modern Protestants and the ancient Waldenses. Ridley seems to have been thus affected when he first knew what really were the principles of this venerable community. Hence he speaks of the Waldenses as "men of much more learning, godliness, soberness, and understanding in God's Word, than he would have thought them to have been in that time, before he did read their works." He adds: "If such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely great good might have come to

[q] "Set forth by a Papist, called Ortwinus Gratius, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum, et fugiendarum.*" Ridley to Bernher, 72.

Christ's church thereby[r]." Amidst his endeavours to perpetuate and extend the light of true religion among his countrymen, Ridley was not forgetful of that numerous and illustrious band of faithful Christians, who, like himself, were expecting in prison an agonizing death, because they would not assent to man's interested traditions, rather than to God's recorded Word. To these pious victims of oppression the Bishop addressed two epistles of encouragement and exhortation. The diligence indeed which he displayed in prison, would have done honour to any scholar enjoying every facility for study. That a captive, in constant expectation of a violent death, often too denied even implements for writing, should have produced such numerous evidences of ability, industry, and zeal, is among the many proofs that Englishmen, in deferring to their Church's holy martyrs, have followed men every way worthy of their confidence[s].

[r] Ridley to Bernher, 72.

[s] Ridley's excellent biographer thus enumerates the literary fruits of his hours in prison. 1. A treatise shewing how Winchester varied from other Papists in eighteen articles. 2. Another, how Winchester varied from himself in eighteen more. 3. Shewing several things that Winchester yielded concerning the spiritual use of the Sacrament. 4. A little treatise composed by him and Latimer in the Tower. 5. A treatise on the Lord's Supper. 6. Three positions on the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. 7. His disputation in the schools. 8. *Ad fratres per varios carceres dispersos, Epist. II.* 9. *De abominationibus sedis Romanæ, et pontificum Romanorum.* 10. Annotations upon Tunstall, *De Ver. Corp. et Sang. Do. in Euch.* 11. A treatise on predestination. 12. Several letters. 13. A lamentation.

As nothing was more easy to the ruling party than the gaining of such a victory at the sister-university as had been already gained at Oxford, it was proposed, soon after the return to London of Dr. Weston and his associates, that a disputation should be holden at Cambridge. In the London prisons were Hooper, Crome, Rogers, Bradford and others, men of acknowledged talents, and of considerable celebrity among the opponents of a traditional creed. These eminent and virtuous ecclesiastics were soon apprised in their dungeons, that it was intended to require of them a public discussion of their opinions at Cambridge. Being acquainted, however, with the treatment recently received by their friends at Oxford, they thought themselves justified in hesitating as to the acceptance of a challenge from those who had acted as opponents upon that occasion; and hence a general disposition prevailed among them to decline the proffered disputation, unless they could see some reasonable hope of receiving in it impartial usage. Still they felt unwilling to shew a backwardness in answering any call for the solemn examination of their principles. In this difficulty Bradford secretly despatched a messenger to Oxford, requesting of Ridley and his two fellow-prisoners their opinions as to the course most advisable. The messenger appears not to have succeeded in communicating with Cranmer or Latimer; and many precautions

14. His farewell. Several of these are now lost. Ridley was sometimes reduced to the necessity of cutting the lead from his prison windows into pencils, and of writing upon the margins of books. Life of Bp. Ridley, 532.

were adopted to prevent the three prelates from holding intercourse with each other. It seems, however, that they expected the call which was made upon their friends in London, and even imagined that the conflict was over at a time when it was only in agitation. For Ridley thus writes by Bradford's messenger: "As yet I perceive you have not been baited[t]:" an expressive sentence briefly characterising the Oxford precedent, and pointing to the probable object of those who were arranging a similar exhibition for Cambridge. His experience, accordingly, made Ridley acknowledge that the divines imprisoned in London might allowably refuse to dispute; although he seems to have rather wished that they should undertake this labour, as a means of affording a public testimony to the truth[u]. Bp. Hooper no sooner heard in the Fleet that a commission was issued for this disputation, than he wrote upon the subject to Bishop Ferrar, Archdeacon Philpot, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and others, who were impri-

[t] Letters of the Martyrs, 60.

[u] "Now as concerning your demand for our counsel, for my part, I do not mislike that which I perceive you are minded to do: for I look for none other; but if ye answer before the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were; though ye were as well learned as ever were Peter or Paul. And yet further, I think that occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may, perchance, move you to do otherwise. Finally, determinately to say, what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust, He, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation." Ridley to Bradford, 61.

soned in the King's Bench. In this letter he proposes, that the disputation should be refused by the parties challenged, unless the works likely to be cited were at hand during the course of it, and notaries were sworn to write down impartially the whole proceedings. In case the respondents should encounter tumult and contumely, he suggests that they ought at once to appeal to the Queen in council. He refers also to the notorious insufficiency of existing laws for the sanguinary purposes of the Romish party; and he mentions the following speech, made by Weston, on being reminded of this mortifying defect: "When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law[x]."

[x] The following is a complete copy of this interesting letter. "The grace of God be with you: Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth, as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute in the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have, and do profess. I am, as I doubt not ye be, in Christ, ready not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one, to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth nigh, and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth. The next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it. The third, to shew you what ways I think were best to use ourselves in this matter, and also to hear of every one of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst our blood, and whether we, by God's help, overcome after the Word of God, or by the force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion; our ad-

Two days after the writing of Bishop Hooper's letter, a pious and loyal declaration was drawn up in his

versaries will say they overcame, as you perceive how they report of those great learned men, and godly personages at Oxford. Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have the books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the D. against the whole course of the doctor's mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries to take things spoken indifferently, which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was, and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us, I suppose it were best to appeal to be heard before the Queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than of malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not, although to our smart and bloodshedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us, and unto our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible with St. Stephen to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging. Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow, for shortly we shall be gone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept abroad one from the other. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof of such as be present, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and the council, or else before all the Parliament, as they were used in King Edward's days. Further, for my part, I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books, and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not as present and quick as theirs be. I trust

name, and in the names of the principal Protestants imprisoned in London, declining the proposed disputation; but offering to dispute either in writing, or verbally, before the Queen in council, or before the two Houses of Parliament. The causes alleged for refusing the proffered challenge, are the following six. 1. Because the two Universities had already determined the points at issue, and that in a manner contrary to Scripture, and to their own determinations in the late reign; they being also professed enemies to the parties whom it was intended to call before them. 2. Because, if the clergy had honestly

God will be with us; yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adversaries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. *And yet there is no law to condemn us, as far as I know, and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to D. Weston.* To whom Weston made this answer, *It forceth not,* quoth he, *for a law: we have a commission to proceed with them: when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law.* Now how soon a man may have such a commission at my Lord Chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiphas' hand. Besides that the bishops, having the Queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the Lords of the temporality, who at this present have found out the mark that the bishops shoot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer by time. *Judas non dormit: nec scimus diem neque horam. Dominus Jesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur et adjuvet. Amen.* 6. *Maii.* 1554. Yours, and with you unto death in Christ,

John Hooper.

desired to investigate the truth, it would have been publicly examined, before the passing of recent laws respecting religion. 3. Because, those appointed to preside in the proposed disputations had shewn themselves, both at Oxford and in the Convocation of last autumn, manifest and obstinate enemies to the truth; persons therefore before whom, according to our Saviour, pearls are not to be cast. 4. Because, of the parties expected to dispute, some had been imprisoned eight or nine months, without books, pen, ink, paper, or any convenient place for study. Hence such persons must be reduced to the disadvantage of alleging ancient testimonies by memory, against opponents enjoying every facility for literary research. 5. Because, it must be presumed, from the late proceedings at Oxford, especially when Dr. Ridley disputed, that the respondents would encounter interruption, partiality, and insult. 6. Because, it would be difficult both to find faithful notaries, and to prevent the party in power from falsifying the written reports of the proceedings. The subscribers then profess their belief in all the canonical books of Scripture, in the duty of the Church to follow the doctrine of these books, and of all men to hear her voice, while thus acting, under pain of being accounted as heretics and schismatics. They declare their assent to the Apostles' Creed, to the creeds of the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toledo, the first and fourth[y], and also to those of

[y] The first council of Nice, holden in 325, framed the greater part of the creed used in our Communion-service, down to the

Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus. They maintain the doctrine of justification by faith alone, such faith being not a mere opinion, but a principle which enlightens the mind, and subdues the heart, "so as to shew forth an inherent righteousness." They condemn the assertion of free will, of works of supererogation, of human merit, of the necessity of auricular confession, and of the satisfactions consequent upon it. They assert the propriety of using a known tongue in public worship, and they disallow the invocation of saints. They pronounce that purgatory, services for the dead, half-communion, transubstantiation, the adoration, reservation, and circumgestation of the Sacrament, the propitiatory character of the mass, and the inhibition of marriage, are doctrines of Antichrist.

clause, "The Lord and giver of life." That clause, together with the rest of the creed, as it now stands, was added by the first council of Constantinople, in 381. The council of Ephesus, holden in 431, again sanctioned the creed which had been framed at Nice. The council of Chalcedon, holden in 451, sanctioned both that creed, and the one framed at Constantinople. The first council of Toledo, holden in 400, framed a creed, in some measure new, asserting the Trinitarian doctrines. The fourth council of Toledo, holden in 633, also framed a creed, with the same object, in which no one former symbol is exactly followed. (Labb. et Coss. ii. 27, 954, 1227. iii. 671. iv. 564. v. 1703.) All these councils sanctioned, in fact, the Catholic doctrines, or the religious opinions critically deducible from Scripture. A Protestant, therefore, has the satisfaction of knowing, that these venerable assemblies held his own opinions. But a Papist, confident as he is as to the antiquity of his peculiar principles, must look to councils of a date more modern for any notice of them.

They preface their interesting declaration by speaking of themselves as having been long detained in prison "not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the Queen's Highness, or of any of the council's, (God's name be praised therefore,) but alonely for the conscience they had towards God, and to his most holy Word and truth, upon most certain knowledge." In the following admirable words do these men, to whom England owes so much, conclude. "As obedient subjects we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all generally and particularly with the spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion, or sedition against our sovereign lady, the Queen's Highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess, unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing, or by word, before such judges as the Queen's Highness and her council, or the Parliament-houses shall appoint. For the Universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the

same: and therefore, most justly, we may, and do appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing, that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen[z]." That this illustrious band of sufferers judged rightly in declining the challenge of their powerful adversaries there can be no question. Had they accepted it, a scene would inevitably have followed at Cambridge, similar to that which had recently brought disgrace upon the sister university. The advantages, however, to be gained for the Protestant cause by the exhibition of so much injustice, and of such contemptible subtleties on the other side, were not worth the price which must have been paid for them: especially since the parties challenged offered to answer the objections of their adversaries either in writing, or before an assembly likely to guarantee them fair and decorous usage. Even if this boon could have been conceded, it must, indeed, be admitted that a logical conflict was not well adapted

[z] This affecting document is signed: "Robert Meneven, *alias* Robert Ferrar; Rowland Taylor; John Philpot; John Bradford; John Wigorn. et Glouc. Episc. *alias* John Hooper; Edward Crome; John Rogers; Laurence Saunders; Edmund Laurence; I. P.—T. M." One of the Protestant Bishops was at liberty, being under Danish protection. He was, however, consulted by his friends in prison, upon this occasion, and thus he subjoins his approval of their declaration: "To these things above-said, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree with mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners, with mine own hand." Foxe, 1337.

to display the truth of the points at issue. The corporal presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory character of the mass are purely questions of evidence. If these doctrines are not revealed in Scripture, there is, in fact, an end of the controversy upon them. For although it may be maintained, that the apostles taught these articles verbally; yet as they have left no document to prove that assertion, it is likely to go for little with the generality of enquirers. There are individuals, undoubtedly, highly worthy of attention, who would not abandon these doctrines merely because Holy Writ offers a negative testimony against them. Such enquirers would desire to know what may be fairly deduced upon these subjects from the earliest ecclesiastical writers. But this again is a mere question of evidence. The whole enquiry, therefore, is properly critical. Men in general will be satisfied, and they ought to be so, if a careful comparison and consideration of scriptural texts should prove that these doctrines have not been left upon record by the first teachers of our holy faith. Divines will examine also whether the fathers and the most ancient councils have asserted these doctrines. Nor if it be found that they are not fairly deducible either from the Sacred Record, or from the records of ecclesiastical antiquity; will the bold assertions of individuals, or assemblies, comparatively modern, avail any thing in their defence[a].

[a] Persons could not be expected to state that the principal questions at issue between his own party and the Protestants are

While so many of her most learned, virtuous, and loyal subjects were pining in dungeons amidst privations, and distressing inconveniences, merely because their minds were abundantly stored with religious knowledge, and their consciences would not allow them to act in defiance of it; Mary lived in pleasing expectation of a speedy union with her cousin. Among other preparations for the splendid festivities of a royal wedding, the Londoners had the satisfaction of seeing the gibbets, which had menaced and insulted them ever since the punishment of Wyat's accomplices, at length removed from their streets [b].

purely dependent upon evidence. Such a rational conclusion was, indeed, scarcely to be expected in plain terms from any scholar in an age when dialectics were considered of paramount importance. But he admits, that disputations are not likely to prove satisfactory. Perhaps, the difficulties by which his own party was pressed in these argumentative conflicts had led him to form this opinion. Yet, the acceptance of a challenge to dispute, was an advantage conceded to the Romanists: inasmuch as it enabled them to produce subtle modes of accounting for things, of which the existence had never been proved. His words are the following: "One thing of no small importance there is to be considered in this preface about the nature of a disputation: to wit, that it is a fit means to stir up man's understanding to attend the truth, by laying forth the difficulties on both sides; so is it not always sufficient to resolve his judgment; for that it moveth more doubts than he can answer or dissolve." Pref. to a Rev. of Ten Publ. Disp. 19.

[b] June 4. Perhaps the government considered this threatening attitude called for by some sallies of popular licentiousness which had occurred in London. On Easter-day, March 25, an incident, somewhat ludicrous, amused or disgusted the congregation assembled in the church of St. Pancras, near Cheapside.

Philip embarked for England at Corunna, attended by a splendid retinue, and a numerous fleet, and four

Among the wretched mummeries by which the Roman Church lowers among her children the solemn dignity of Passion week, is the concealment of the cross and pix in the sepulchre, in the evening of Good Friday, as a commemoration of Christ's burial. On the morning of Easter-day the officiating ministers are to proceed to this sepulchre, to incense it with bended knees, and privately withdrawing from it the pix and crucifix, to place them upon the altar. One of them is then to chaunt, "*Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.*" (Brev. Sarisb. in die Pasch.) Foxe thus gives the words of this chaunt, "*Surrexit: non est hic.*" "He is risen: he is not here." Nor indeed was the wafer there when the priest chaunted these ridiculous words at St. Pancras; for some mischievous person had stolen both it and the crucifix. This affair naturally gave great offence to the Romanists, and they charged it at once upon Marsh, who had been recently ejected from the living, as a married man. Of this charge, however, no proof being forthcoming, they accused the ejected minister, then recovering from a severe illness, of having cohabited with his wife after he had been divorced from her by authority. Poor Marsh observed, "It is hard of the Queen to take from me both my living and my wife." This freedom gave offence, and he was committed to one of the counters, his wife to the other. Such oppressive conduct on the part of those in power, was very little likely to conciliate any of Marsh's late neighbours, who knew and respected him. On the 8th of April accordingly, upon the gallows which was kept standing in Cheapside, a cat was found hanging, her crown shaven, a dress upon her similar to that of a priest saying mass, her two fore paws fastened over her head, and a round paper, like a wafer, placed between them. This insult gave violent offence, and a reward of twenty marks was offered, but ineffectually, for the discovery of its perpetrator. Phillips, the biographer of Pole, (ii. 218.) and after him Mr. Butler (Book of the R. C. Ch. 210.) mention the affair of the cat among the provocations which may serve to extenuate Mary's persecutions. But they say nothing of the coarse jest by which the childish cere-

days of favouring gales brought him before Southampton on the 19th of July. He landed on the following day, being the first man of his fleet who set foot on shore. This was no sooner done than he drew his sword, and he walked with it unsheathed for a considerable distance[c]: thereby giving an indication, as the superstitious thought, that he meant

monies of a Popish Easter service were pungently, though indecently, burlesqued. They give no clue to the date of the transaction, which is designated as "an impiety" that they "have a difficulty to repeat." They are wholly silent as to the tyrannical oppression practised upon Marsh; they forget to tell us, that twenty gibbets remained in the metropolis, in lugubrious array, from the 13th of February to the 4th of June, and that the offensive cat was suspended from one of them. (Foxe, 1335.) To represent indeed this trifling incident as an extenuation of enormities perpetrated after an interval of ten months, is a manifest indication of a bad cause. The whole truth is, that the government was anxious to burn alive, though it was notorious that existing laws authorised no such atrocity, several individuals highly venerated: it had visited, in the most arbitrary manner, with poverty, exile, imprisonment, and other hardships, all but intolerable, many of the most respectable among its subjects; it was mainly indebted for its establishment to the conscientious loyalty of the very Protestants whom it was eager to crush; and it retained the capital in a state of feverish irritation, by preventing the citizens from leaving their own doors without being reminded, at every turn, of a horrible display of public vengeance. Such a government was the giver, rather than the receiver, of provocation. A petty outrage or two, therefore, perpetrated among the oppressed party, in a neighbourhood recently disgusted by an act of gross injustice, is to be charged upon the rulers who so shamefully abused their trust, more properly than upon the obscure, and probably youthful hands, which thus gave vent to a well-grounded feeling of indignation.

[c] Speed.

to rule England by the sword. After a short interval, the Mayor of Southampton waited upon him with the keys of the town. Philip received them stiffly, and then returned them without a single word, or even gesture, expressive of his gratification at the compliment[d]. After staying three days at Southampton, he went to meet the Queen at Winchester. In the magnificent cathedral of that ancient city Gardiner married the royal pair, on the 25th of July, being the festival of St. James, who passes for the tutelary saint of Spain. Philip gave his hand to Mary as a sovereign prince; for an imperial minister brought to the nuptial ceremony resignations of the kingdom of Naples, and of the duchy of Milan, made by Charles in favour of his son[e]. A splendid banquet, of which the second course was served up in golden dishes, followed these important espousals; and Gardiner, it is said, was invited to take a place at the royal table, being the only guest thus honoured[f]. The Queen and her husband spent a few days at Winchester, and then removed, by easy journeys, to Windsor, where, on the 12th of August, Philip was installed a Knight of the Garter. On the 19th of that month the royal bride and bridegroom entered London with great magnificence, and they were entertained there with all that splendid hospitality which the citizens have so often displayed in honour of those whom Providence has placed at the

[d] Foxe, 1337.

[e] Godwin, Annal. 120.

[f] Pollini, 373. Strype, however, says, that only Philip and Mary sate at the principal table.

head of society[g]. Among the objects provided to grace their progress through the capital, allegorical paintings were of course not forgotten; and one of these, which ornamented the conduit in Gracechurch-street, occasioned some displeasure in the royal cavalcade. It represented the nine worthies, of whom, it seems, King Henry VIII. was one. Of this monarch's reign it had long been esteemed an honourable distinction, that in it Englishmen were allowed once more to read Scripture in their native tongue; and, accordingly, he was usually painted with a Bible in his hand. In this instance the artist followed established precedents, writing upon the book which Henry was represented as delivering to his son Edward, *Verbum Dei*. In all this was discerned an intention to insult the Queen. She, too, occupied a place in the picture, and into her hand it was said, the Bible ought to have been delivered, for she was indeed a reformer after God's Word. The painter, accordingly, was sent for by Gardiner, reprimanded in abusive terms, ordered to wipe out the Bible, and to place in its room a pair of gloves[h].

As a means of gaining popularity with the nation,

[g] Godwin, *ut supra*. Foxe, 1338. Before her union with Philip, Mary had been offered in marriage no less than nine times. 1. To the Dauphin, in 1518. 2. To the Emperor, in 1522. 3. To the King of Scotland. 4. To the King of France. 5. To the Duke of Orleans, in 1527. 6. To Don Lewis, of Portugal, in 1538. 7. To Charles, youngest son of King Francis, in 1541. 8. To the Count Palatine, at an uncertain date. 9. To the Infant of Portugal, in 1549. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 203.

[h] Foxe, 1338.

Philip solicited for the release of the Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire. Gardiner opposed these acts of grace; for as Elizabeth had been educated wholly among the Reformers, he considered her unlikely to become a sincere Romanist. Hence he doubted not that a large party in the nation, which the government was bent upon crushing by whatever means, would never cease to feel encouragement while she might be at large. But the Spanish prince overruled this objection; and, to the great joy of the people, Elizabeth escaped from a restraint in which she had been kept ever since Wyat's rebellion. Devonshire appears to have been detained somewhat longer in prison. On regaining his liberty he went abroad, and within about twelve months he died in Italy. Other prisoners, and among them Archbishop Holgate, were also pardoned about this time. The charges upon which these persons had been detained, appear to have been chiefly, if not entirely, of a political nature. For we have no reason to believe that any who were obnoxious to the court upon a religious account obtained their liberty at this time. Holgate, most probably, relapsed into Romanism; but he never regained the see of York. These acts of clemency failed, however, to reconcile the people to Mary's husband. Even the nobility were disgusted by the cumbrous and ostentatious etiquette which was introduced at court. Discontent accordingly continued to prevail, venting itself chiefly in absurd and offensive rumours. In the hope of stemming this torrent of petty vexations, Bishop Gardiner mounted the pulpit, at St. Paul's Cross, on the 30th

of September. His sermon contained a glowing panegyric upon Mary's choice; and he affirmed, under pain of being deemed by his hearers an impudent liar, that Philip would be found as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate, as any prince ever known in England. He did not, however, forget to garnish his discourse with copious invectives against the preachers who had occupied that pulpit in King Edward's reign [1], and with infamous misrepresentations of their doctrine. He satisfied, probably, very few among his auditors; for the tide of popular prejudice set in so strongly against Spain, that any testimony to Philip's good qualities was likely to be received with incredulous ear. And certainly libellous denunciations, from an individual high in office, against the fallen Reformers, combined with offensive falsehoods as to their opinions, could not fail to augment the disgust and anxiety of all who favoured the Protestant cause.

In this summer the bishops generally visited their dioceses, most probably with an especial view to the preparation of England for that complete restoration of Popery, which was now intended by the government. Such appears, from his articles, to have been Bishop Boner's principal object; and it is likely that the whole prelacy moved in concert. The Bishop of London also published a book of religious instruction, compiled, as he says in the preface, by himself and his chaplains. The book, however, is little more, in fact, than a republication of the *Institution*

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 450. Foxe, 1339.

of a Christen Man[k], adapted for present use by means of certain modifications and omissions, especially with regard to the Pope. It might seem that Boner was offended, in his progress through his diocese, with the texts of Scripture which yet continued written upon the walls of many churches; for soon after his return home[l], he issued a mandate, enjoining the erasure of these obnoxious inscriptions, and threatening with excommunication such parochial officers as should not blot them out immediately. The inscribers of scriptural texts upon church walls are thus characterised by him: "All which persons tend chiefly to this end, that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as in them lay, the reverend sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the Catholic Church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue." The document containing this charitable and veracious account of such Christians as considered texts of Scripture a more safe and profitable ornament of churches, than figures of saints, or even of Christ, is addressed to the parish of Hadham particularly, and to the diocese of London generally. When the Bishop was upon his visitation, he came to Hadham somewhat before the time appointed. Hence his ears, on approaching that place, were not greeted by

[k] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. ii. 238.

[l] His mandate is dated October 25. He visited about September.

the sound of bells, nor was the rector on the road to meet him. His irritation at these omissions was increased, on reaching the village, by finding the church-door locked. At length he gained admission, and his anger immediately found fresh fuel. Neither was a consecrated wafer hanging up, nor the rood-loft adorned in the usual manner [m].

[m] The rood-loft was furnished with figures of the crucified Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. John; the two latter being placed, one on each side of the cross. Bricket appears to have been known as favourably disposed towards the Reformation, for Foxe imagined that Boner was not disinclined to quarrel with him, as being a man "whose religion, percase, he somewhat suspected." He was, however, no doubt, a conformist, and his offence appears chiefly to have lain in delaying an obedience to the mandates of authority until the last moment: for it seems that the Bishop, had he not come before his appointed time, would have found the rood-loft with its usual compliment of images.

The refurnishing of rood-lofts gave occasion to the two following ludicrous incidents. This was no sooner done with great solemnity at St. Paul's, than amidst the crowd gazing at the gaily-painted figures, a wag, making a low courtesy, thus addressed the principal image: "Sir, your mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked farther with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the Queen's colours. I hope ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green." At Cockerham, in Lancashire, a rood was erected which the parishioners refused to pay for, considering the figures badly executed. The carver summoned them in consequence before the Mayor of Lancaster, and set forth his case. The following was their plea in justification: "The rood in our church before, had a well-favoured countenance, and this man undertook to make us such another: but this which he hath set up now is the worst-favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on, please you, Master Mayor. It gapes and grins in such sort, that none of our children dare once look upon it, or come near unto

"Knave, heretic," said he, with an oath, to Dr. Bricket, the rector, "I had hoped to see in this mine own church, the best order: but here I find the most disorder, to my heavy discomfort." Bricket endeavoured to mollify him by humble apologies, representing that his arrival before the time expected had caused the omissions of which he complained, that whatever he might desire should be performed with all expedition, and that if he would adjourn to the parsonage-house, where an entertainment awaited him, such arrangements should be made as he might prescribe. Boner, after listening awhile with undissembled rage, thus broke silence: "Before God thou art a knave. Avaunt heretic." The rector turned, and his diocesan anxious, it might seem, to give him another proof of his abhorrence, raised his arm to strike, or thrust him. Unluckily, the blow took full effect upon the ear of Sir John Jocelyn, a gentleman seated in the neighbourhood. The knight starting indignantly, Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, thus attempted to pacify

it." The Mayor had long been a decided enemy to such books for the unlearned as graven images, receiving religious honours, and accordingly, he thus decided the case. "My masters, howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been nevertheless, and it is a pity that he should have any hindrance, or loss thereby. Therefore, I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him; and go your ways, and look upon the thing, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on the head, and it will make an excellent devil." (Foxe, 1340.) The rood was in derision sometimes termed by Protestants "Block-almighty."

him. "O, Master Jocelyn, you must bear with my Lord: for truly, his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there have altered him, and in these passions he is not ruler of himself; nor booteth it any man to give him counsel until his heat be past: and then, assure yourself, Master Jocelyn, my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that he now cannot see in himself." Sir John good-humouredly replied; "So it seemeth, Master Feckenham, for now my Lord is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is fit to go into Bedlam." On quitting the church of Hadham, Boner angrily mounted his horse, and rode on to Ware. Several of his attendants, however, were persuaded by Dr. Bricket to stay behind, and partake of the handsome dinner which he had provided at the parsonage [n].

The preface to Boner's articles of enquiry contains the following oblique reference to his former patronage of opinions now completely out of favour: "The said Bishop withal desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose is to do his duty charitably." The queries are in number thirty-seven, and some of them relate to such general matters of discipline as fall at all times under the cognisance of those who govern the Church. Among those peculiarly suited to the time we find the following; Whether clergymen were married, or taken for married, or had lost their wives by death, or

[n] Foxe, 1340. From the testimony of some who were present.

were openly separated from females with whom, notwithstanding, they continued to cohabit, or defended clerical marriages? Whether they duly performed the service on all days appropriated to religious purposes? Whether they were suspected of heresy, or favoured, or associated with those so suspected? Whether any ecclesiastic lived in the parish who absented himself from church? Whether any married priests, or persons naming themselves ministers kept conventicles? Whether individuals opposing transubstantiation "or any other article of the Catholic faith" were admitted to the Sacrament? Whether English had been used in the service since the Queen's proclamation to the contrary? Whether clergymen have exhorted their parishioners "to be confessed and to receive the benefit of absolution, according to the laudable custom of this realm?" Whether "touching the solemnization of the sacrament of matrimony, and also of all other the sacraments of the Church, they have kept and observed the old and laudable custom of the Church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the same?" Whether they have publicly announced in the time of service, or Sundays, "all such holy days and fasting days, as of godly usage and custom have heretofore laudably been accustomed to be kept and observed in the week following, and whether they have themselves observed the said days? Whether they went abroad apparelled as ecclesiastics, with tonsures and shaven chins[o]? Whether baptism, al-

[o] The Pontifical (f. 5.) cites the council of Carthage for a pro-

ready lawfully performed, has been repeated, or whether any new forms have been followed in the

hibition against the wearing of beards by clergymen. "*Statutum est in concilio Carthaginiensi ne clerici nutriant barbas.*" It also directs, that the 133d Psalm shall be chanted during the first shaving of an ecclesiastic, or even of a layman. This Psalm, however, mentioning "the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard," seems rather applicable to those who wear the beard than to those who shave it away. The canon to which the Pontifical refers is the 44th, of the fourth council of Carthage, holden in 398, and by it a clergyman is forbidden to nourish either the hair of his head, or his beard. "*Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam.*" This canon appears to have been directed against some mystical heretics of the time, known as Massalians or Euchites, who denying, that persons devoted to God's service ought to work with their hands, allowed their hair and beards to grow without restraint, and lived wholly by means of other men's industry. Against these enthusiasts is also directed the 51st canon of the fourth council of Carthage, which enjoins clergymen to gain a subsistence by means of agriculture: or of some trade. This council, therefore, manifestly furnishes no authority against the beards of modern ecclesiastics. As an early authority for tonsures is alleged a decretal epistle, attributed to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, in the latter half of the second century. Clergymen are enjoined in this, not to nourish their hair, but to shave the crowns of their heads spherically. An Apostle is cited as an authority against the long hair of ecclesiastics. Probably, the xith. ch. of St. Paul's second epistle to the Corinthians was in the writer's eye; but this portion of Scripture is manifestly insufficient for the purpose. In England not only tonsures, but also shaven chins, appear to have been long resisted by the clergy. At the council of Oxford, accordingly, holden under Archbishop Langton in 1222, English ecclesiastics were forbidden to nourish the hair either of the head or chin. Evidently, however, this prohibition did not receive universal attention, for Cardinal Otho repeated it, and the commentator upon his constitutions was so

administration of that sacrament? Whether once, at least, in every quarter, the parishioners have been instructed, in the vulgar tongue, in "the articles of the Catholic faith; the Ten Commandments of the Old Law, the Two Commandments of the Gospel, or New Law; the seven works of mercy; the seven deadly sins, with their offspring, progeny, and issue; the seven principal virtues; and the seven sacraments of the Church[p]?" Whether pregnant women

scandalised by a clerical aversion for the razor, that he expresses himself anxious to see these bearded priests shaven, whether they liked it or not, down to their very teeth, or at any rate, down to their gums. "*Utinam tonderentur, licet inviti, usque ad dentes, vel gingivas*," he indignantly exclaims. Forcible shaving was, indeed, already sanctioned by the canon-law of England: for it was enacted, in the words of the council of Agde, which sat in 506, at the synod of Westminster, holden under Archbishop Weathershed, who succeeded Langton, that clergymen who nourished their hair should be shaven by the Archdeacon, even against their wills. "*Clerici qui comam nutriunt, ab Archidiacono, etiam inviti, tondeantur.*" This edict, however, failed to exterminate clerical beards, for among the "abominable scandals," complained of in Archbishop Stratford's time, we find the long hair and beards of priests. At a provincial council, accordingly, holden under that metropolitan, in St. Paul's, in 1342, suspension and a fine were decreed against such ecclesiastics as should persist in wearing long hair and beards. Labb. et Coss. ii. 1203, 1204, 1210; i. 582; iv. 1386. Const. Eccl. Angl. 123, 30, 143, 135.

[p] For this course of religious instruction, which appears to have been first authoritatively prescribed in England by Archbishop Peckham, see Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. iii. 297. Note. It is worthy of remark, that in this article, which is his 34th, Boner correctly terms the doctrines contained in the three creeds, "the articles of the Catholic faith." This accu-

have been admonished to confess and receive the Sacrament when near the time of delivery, and to have water in readiness for christening their offspring, if necessity so require it[q]? Whether any priests having been ordained schismatically, "or being unlawfully and schismatically married, have officiated in the church," although "not yet reconciled or admitted by the ordinary?" This query is worthy of observation, because it shews the opinion of such as then presided over the English Church, respecting a point upon which doubts have been agitated among divines. It has been imagined, that Romanists necessarily repudiate ordinations conferred by those who deny the authority of their Church, or in the time of schism, as their phrase goes. The

rate and liberal language, however, might seem to have been an oversight; for in his 16th article, the Bishop condemns clergymen who admit to the Eucharist those "who are openly known or suspected to be adversaries and speakers against the said sacrament, *or any other article of the Catholic faith.*" It is evident here that the Romish traditions respecting the mass, and other doctrines, thrown together, subsequently, by Pius IV. into a formulary which he appended to the Nicene creed, are termed the Catholic faith.

[q] This was according to the following canon, enacted at a provincial council, under Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. "Commoneant sacerdotes mulieres prægnantes de parochia sua ut cum tempus partus intelligunt instare sibi, prospiciant quod aquam habeant promptam et paratam. Et propter periculum mulieres confiteantur antequam in puerperio jacuerint omnia peccata sua sacerdoti: ne subito dolore præoccupante non possint cum voluerint habere copiam sacerdotum. Etiam, quod laudabile est institutum in quibusdam locis, tunc sumant Eucharistiam." Const. Prov. S. Edm. Cant. Arch. 145.

practice which prevailed in England, under Queen Mary, proves the unsoundness of this opinion. Clergymen ordained by King Edward's ordinal were then admitted to minister after a reconciliation by the ordinary, those ceremonies, such as anointing, and delivering the vessels, omitted in the Church of England, but prescribed in that of Rome, having been previously supplied. It is, in fact, an admitted principle, that ordination essentially depends upon the imposition of hands by parties ordained themselves in this manner[r]. Hence if such ordaining parties labour under any disqualification, their act is not invalid; it is only so far defective, as that the objects of it are properly restrained from ministering

[r] The council of Trent admits plainly enough, in treating of extreme unction, that ordination is conferred by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery. The Trentine fathers thus explain the phrase, "elders of the Church," used by St. James, (v. 14.) "Quo nomine, eo loco, non ætate seniores, aut primores in populo intelligendi veniunt, sed aut episcopi, aut *sacerdotes, ab ipsis rite ordinati per impositionem manuum presbyterii.*" (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 822.) Bishop Fisher maintains repeatedly, that the grace appended to the sacrament of orders is conferred by the imposition of hands. After citing certain passages of Scripture, in which this imposition of hands is mentioned, he asks, "An non ex istis perspicuum est impositionem manuum in ordinationibus presbyterorum fieri, et eadem insuper donari gratia? Impositio, igitur, manuum, quæ in ipsis ordinatio est, sensibile signum est invisibilis gratiæ, et perinde verum sacramentum." Again he says, that the Apostles used three things in their ordinations, namely, fasting, prayer, and the imposition of hands. (Roffens. contr. Capt. Bab. 258. 261.) He asserts the same thing in another of his pieces against Luther, (pp. 1256, 1260, 1261.) See also Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 524.

until their services have received the sanction of some competent authority[s].

As Mary's objects were unattainable without legislative authority, writs were issued for summoning a new parliament. In these instruments the Queen was no longer styled *Supreme Head of the Church*. The royal titles were thus illegally curtailed, and hence it was urged, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, that all the proceedings of this parliament were invalid, an unlawful writ having called it into being[t]. Great care was, however, taken to prevent either this or any other difficulty from impeding the government in its meditated career. A circular letter was transmitted to the several sheriffs, in the Queen's name, in which Mary openly identified herself with the Romish party, giving instructions that such persons should be chosen to serve in the Lower House as were "of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort, such as indeed mean the true honour of God." To no others of her subjects than such as she would designate in this manner does the Queen make even an appearance of shewing

[s] Bishop Burnet cites the following passages from Morinus as a proof that this is a genuine principle of Romish ecclesiastical polity. "All the ordinations of heretics and schismatics, made according to the forms of the Church, and where the heretics that gave them were also rightly ordained, according to the forms of the Church, are valid as to their substance, and are not to be repeated, though they be unlawful. Therefore heretics and schismatics so ordained need no new ordination, but only a reconciliation." Vindication of the Ordination of the Church of England, 60.

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 455.

the least regard. She speaks of "the noble marriage now atchieved and perfected, much to our satisfaction and contentation; and as we trust of the rest of the good Catholic people within our realms." Her Majesty might seem to have forgotten that there were people within these limits of no mean importance either as to numbers, or worth, or loyalty, to whom she would refuse this courteous epithet. It was, indeed, plainly to be collected from her circular to the sheriffs, that the complete ascendancy of Popery was to be the chief business of the new parliament. "We intend principally," she said, "the restitution of God's honour and glory." The meaning of such words from such a quarter, no man could mistake. The ministers, however, knew, that although sufficient care might bring into the House of Commons only Romish zealots, or obsequious dependents, or men intent upon a bribe, very few of these persons were prepared to make any kind of pecuniary sacrifice. It would be found that a large proportion of them, and probably, persons connected with all of them, had been enriched by the monastic property. For the stability of such possessions great apprehensions had been entertained during several months; and it was not doubted that if an expectation of seeing English monachism once more in its pristine splendour generally prevailed, it would still prove impossible to restore the Pope and burn his enemies. The uneasiness of individuals possessing property once ecclesiastical was, accordingly, allayed in the royal circular, by an assurance that the King and Queen intended to ac-

complish their designs "without alteration of any particular man's possessions[u]." Additional effect appears to have been bestowed upon this official communication by the more private interference of such distinguished individuals as were anxious for the final triumph of Popery, or for the solid personal advantage of standing high in the royal favour. It is at least known, that the Earl of Sussex addressed, on the 14th of October, a letter to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to another gentleman in that part of the country, desiring them "to reserve their interests and voices for such as he should name," and informing them, that he "would soon consult with them about the matter." Sussex also, under sanction of the Queen's letter, procured the return of an acceptable member from the borough of Yarmouth[x]. This management was no doubt rendered more secure of its aim by a magnificent importation of treasure consigned to Philip. On the 2d of October, twenty carts laden with bullion, and escorted by a detachment of the royal guard, proceeded from Westminster to the Tower, where this imposing mass of property was received by a Spaniard, acting as the King's treasurer[y]. It was at the same time, probably, known that a farther arrival of a similar kind might be expected: and in fact, on the 29th of the following January, ninety-nine horses, and two carts, bearing gold and silver,

[u] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 245.
[x] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 494.
[y] Foxe, 1339.

went in gladdening procession through the streets to the venerable citadel of London[1]. Such exhibitions could not fail of inflaming every base and mercenary spirit in the upper departments of English society. Those who had already gratified the court by services offensive to the people, were now assured of their expected rewards, and encouraged to speculate upon the lucrative compliances of a future day. Such sordid individuals as had hitherto acquired no claims upon the Spanish hoard, could never forget that the price of subserviency to Philip's views was

[1] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 209. Dr. Lingard has mentioned these importations of Spanish treasure in his account of an obscure conspiracy devised against the Queen in the spring of 1556, after the just abhorrence of her subjects had been excited by the sanguinary persecutions of more than a year. Of the conspirators, he says, that "to excite or foment the public discontent, they had reported that Philip devoted to Spanish purposes the revenue of the English crown; though at the same time they knew that, on different occasions, he had brought an immense mass of treasure into the kingdom, *of which one portion had been distributed in presents*, another had served to defray the expenses of the marriage, and the remainder, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the royal exchequer." (Hist. Engl. vii. 298.) No date appears to mark the times when this treasure was so liberally poured into England. But for this omission, many readers might have suspected that some of "the portion distributed in presents," had found its way into the pockets of various individuals assembled in parliament about the time when all these tempting packages were paraded through the streets of London. Such a suspicion is undoubtedly of very long standing, and it is strongly confirmed by that pliability, which rendered this parliament so much more obedient to the court than its two short-lived predecessors had been.

actually provided in the Tower. His liberality appears, indeed, to have been sufficiently notorious[a], and it no doubt aided materially the government in now carrying measures which had hitherto appeared all but hopeless.

The Parliament assembled on the 12th of November[b], both Philip and Mary gracing its opening

[a] The Spanish writers, as it appears from the following extracts, make no secret of these pecuniary persuasions. Ribadeneyra even speaks of them rather ostentatiously, as if they had been an honour to his country. "Algunos Ingleses se mostraban ariscos, mas el Rey los ganò con prudencia, agrado, onras, *mercedes;* especialmente a los que fueron leales a la Reyna i conservando sus leyes, costumbres, estilo. Con esto, i la cortesia de su familia se pudo tratar de la convocacion de los Estados Generales par doze de Noviembre, i de su reducion a la Iglesia Romana, aunque no sin varias contradiciones." (Cabrera, 21.) "Estuvieron a los principios los Ingleses ariscos, secos, y desabridos con los Españoles, y desgustados por el casamiento del Rey. Mas fue tan admirabile la prudencia, y tan estremada la modestia con que se huvo en aquel reyno, *y la liberalidad que uso con los naturales del, haziendo grandes mercedes a todos los que se havian mostrado leales, y servido en sus trabajos de la Reyna, y conservando los fueros y leyes del reyno, y no sacando del interesse alguno para si, ni para los suyos, sino antes dandole, y enriquiciendole con su hazienda, y con la dela mucha y luzida gente, que por su causa acudia a el.*" Ribadeneyra, 219.

[b] This Parliament met "Nov. 10, or, according to Rastal, the 11th, or Stow, the 12th." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 251.) Bp. Burnet names the 11th, but the 12th is undoubtedly the correct date, as appears by the following extract from a letter addressed on the 15th of January, 1555, by Philip to his sister Donna Joanna: "Aviamos mandado convocar Parliamento de los estados del, para los doze del dicho mes de Noviembre, el qual se començó aquel dia." (Ribadeneyra, 220.) The next

by their presence, and by a display of great magnificence. Its first business was the repeal of Cardinal Pole's attainder; a measure which rapidly passed both Houses, and which was rendered effective in a manner very unusual, perhaps unprecedented. The sovereigns of England have ordinarily honoured the legislature by their presence, only at its meeting, and dispersion. The King and Queen, however, upon this occasion broke through established etiquette, and in an especial visit to the House, gave the royal assent in person to the act which shielded Pole from the just vengeance of his country [c]. The legislature, it must be owned, offered not to their Majesties an instrument altogether worthy of so great an honour. For it recites, with a resolute contempt for truth, that the only reason of Pole's attainder "was his refusal to consent to the unlaw-

sentence in the King's letter is worthy of remark, because it plainly asserts that the principal object of Mary and himself in calling this Parliament was the complete restoration of Popery, and that considerable exertions had been made to overcome a repugnance to this, prevailing among persons of influence. It also shews that a strong prejudice existed in the country against Cardinal Pole. "Y como nuestro principal intento era dar assiento en las cosas de la religion, con grande esperança que nuestro Señor, cuya era la causa, ayudaria a nuestro buen desseo, hizimos todas les diligencias, que nos parecieron convenir, con las principales del reyno, y señaladamente para que tomassen bien la venida del muy reverendo Cardenal Polo."

[c] "Cumque leges apud nos latæ viribus cassæ authoritate careant donec a Principe comprobentur: Regum uterque, præter morem, (nam tantum semel, cum coguntur, et deinde cum dimittumtur, ad Comitia venire solent,) ipsi præsentes actionem eam ratam habuerunt." Godwin, Annal. 122.

ful divorce of the Queen's mother from her father[a]." The Cardinal had hitherto passed the year with but little satisfaction; being chiefly resident at an abbey

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 456. Phillips adds another extract from this veracious example of legislation; namely, that the Cardinal was by this act "restored to all the rights which his *uprightness alone* had caused him to forfeit." This biographer also tells us, that "the impression of the great seal, which was put to this act, was, for greater distinction, taken off in gold." (Life of R. Pole, ii. 120.) Very little more than a few dates will set all this matter to rights. Pole had even written against Henry's proposed divorce so early as 1530. His royal kinsman did not, however, break with him. The marriage with Catharine was annulled in the spring of 1533. We have no reason to suppose, that the King considered Pole to have changed his opinions by this time, yet he continued upon terms of civility with him. In 1536, Henry had not ceased to value Pole; and accordingly, he made an attempt to gain his approbation for the reforms which had been effected in England. Pole received this mark of his relation's deference by sending to him his *Ecclesiastical Unity*, one of the most disgraceful publications to which any man, passing for a gentleman and a scholar, ever appended his name. Even this insult was borne, according to the libeller's own admission, with "tolerable temper," by the outraged monarch. As, however, Pole continued his demonstrations of hostility towards his sovereign, he was deprived of his preferments, and denounced as a traitor, in 1537. In the course of that year, he actually proceeded to Flanders with a view of fomenting the insurrection which had broken out in the North of England. Still, he was not attainted. That just penalty did not overtake him until the year 1539, after he had engaged in a second treasonable mission, and occasioned the ruin of his unhappy family; which most probably had embarked in his guilty projects. So much for the parliamentary assertion, that Pole's attainder flowed from his refusal to sanction Henry's divorce, and his own "*uprightness*."

near Brussels, in which capital he never had much reason to suppose himself particularly welcome. He did, indeed, relieve the monotony of this detention, for such it really was, by a journey to the French court upon his pacific errand. His interference, however, between the belligerents proved wholly unavailing, and even besides, offensive to the Emperor. Chagrined by this result of his endeavours, Pole requested his recall from the Pope. But Julius eluded his instances, and intreated him to bear his present mortifications with that equanimity which he had shewn upon many occasions much more trying[e]. He had, in truth, ample opportunities for a display of patience during this residence in the Low Countries. Not only was Charles evidently hostile to his assumption of the legatine character, but also the generality of his own countrymen were any thing rather than anxious to see him among them once more. Of the expedients adopted to keep alive the contempt and abhorrence with which he was generally viewed in England, no one was more fair than a translation of offensive passages selected from his *Ecclesiastical Unity;* that imperishable monument of his virulence and incapacity. Such a work was published, while he remained in suspense at the imperial court, with the following title: *The seditious and blasphemous oration of Cardinal Pole, both against God, and his Native Country, which he directed to the Emperor, in his book entitled The Defence of the*

[e] Pallavicino, ii. 39.

Ecclesiastical Unity; moving the Emperor therein to seek the destruction of England, and all those which had professed the Gospel. Translated into English by Fabian Wythers. Read all and then judge[f]. All well-informed men of moderation must, indeed, have deprecated his return to the land of his fathers, knowing as they did his influence over the Queen's mind. He was undisguisedly bent upon the most oppressive intolerance, and when milder counsels were urged upon his attention, he bigotedly replied that, he would bear all sorts of inconveniences in the English Church, rather than schisms, and a desertion of the Roman unity[g].

[f] A copy of this very scarce tract, together with a second part, intended to alarm the holders of monastic property, is in the archiepiscopal library, at Lambeth. The book is said to have been printed in London by C. Rogers; but it bears no date. This, however, may be supplied by the following passage in a commentary which follows the translation, entitled the *Gloss of Athanasius*. "Judge in thee, that in this embassade which now thou art in unto the Emperor, that, under pretence of treating of peace, thou soundest no other thing in his ears than those words which I have before mentioned, and that thou dost study and go about nothing else but only to move him, and stir him up against us. So that, if it happen wars to be moved at this season against us we will impute all the calamity and misery unto thee alone."

[g] "Multi enim pii et evangelici viri, quibuscum, ut antea diximus, sæpe ecclesiasticis de rebus sermones conferebat, cum adventus et legationis suæ causas scirent, eum in itinere et in Belgio admonuerunt, ut Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quæ suæ jam esset potestati traditæ, provideret. Quibus despectis aut parvipensis, respondit, se omnium potius in Anglicana Ecclesia laturum incommoda, quam schismata et Romanæ unitatis desertionem." Parker, 523.

While residing near Brussels, Emanuel Tremellius, to whom he had stood god-father on his conversion from Judaism, applied to him for relief under urgent necessity. But the learned Israelite had followed his rejection of rabbinical traditions, by forsaking those of Papists also. Hence Pole received his application for an alms with menaces and upbraidings [h]. It is, however, but too probable, that neither indications of his intolerance, nor an indignant sense of his political delinquency operated against Pole among Englishmen of opulence half so much as a fear, that the recognition of his legatine functions would lead to very disagreeable claims upon estates once conventual. Fully aware that this objection to the Pope and his legate was likely to prove insurmountable, both the English and imperial governments were urgent for such bulls from Rome as would fully satisfy the holders of ecclesiastical property with respect to the security of their acquisitions. Nor was either court inclined to face the risk of allowing Pole to pass over into England, until all men might feel a well-grounded assurance, that the spiritual benefits which they were taught to expect from his mission would be attended with no dimunition of their worldly substance.

The first bull addressed to Pole in quality of Legate for England, dated August 5, 1553, is couched in general terms. The second, dated March 8, 1554, empowers the Cardinal to receive and absolve here-

[h] Parker, 523.

tics, sectaries, and canonical offenders of all kinds, upon their unfeigned repentance and submission; to permit, after due penance, the ministrations of clergymen who had married, if they should dismiss their wives; and to recognise the legality of marriages hitherto contracted by penitent clergymen, not being bishops, such individuals, however, being restrained from officiating. Immoveable goods belonging to the Church, and now unduly detained from her, were to be restored, if it should so seem expedient to the Legate. With respect to moveable goods, thus alienated, he was authorised to make agreements with their actual possessors; and to apply the proceeds of such agreements to the encouragement of learning and religion[1]. Thus it was proposed to levy an impost upon all persons enriched by the pillage of the English Church; to announce from authority that all titles to lands, tythes, or manors, gained from this source, were invalid; and to warn the holders of such estates, that their farther possession of them depended upon the discretion of a functionary who had long rendered himself suspicious by his intemperance. The whole purport of this tedious instrument is, in fact, merely to represent all acts condemned at Rome as venial, excepting the invasion of ecclesiastical property; a species of offence which was to be pardoned, if it should be found impossible to punish it, and then pardoned just so far as that impossibility should appear to extend. The English government knew very well, that if it ventured to

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 285.

recognise the bearer of such credentials, the complete restoration of Popery would become impossible, and probably, moreover, a revolution would very soon substitute Elizabeth for her sister Mary. Charles's ministers were equally well aware of these things, and therefore Pole was not only prevented from revisiting his native shores, but he was also treated with increasing coldness at the imperial court, after the receipt of his instructions from Rome[k].

At length it was plainly seen by the papal ministers, that the recovery of England was hopeless until such an arrangement should be made as would afford a tolerable prospect of security to the holders of ecclesiastical property. Another brief accordingly was issued on the 28th of June, in which some abatement was apparently made as to the pecuniary pretensions of the Roman Church. In substantial arrogance, however, this instrument outdoes its predecessor, and it is overlaid with a canting affectation of piety, which renders it highly disgusting. It broadly states, that there is no safety for any man without the Catholic and Universal Church; and lest there should be any room for doubt as to the society thus

[k] Cardinal Pallavicino (ii. 39.) attributes the mortifications received by Pole in the Low Countries, to some free remarks upon Mary's marriage with Philip, made by a connexion of the Cardinal's, and also by himself. Dr. Lingard likewise, in a note, (vii. 241.) says, that this coolness arose from a letter against the Spanish match, written by one of Pole's suite. But the Jesuitical nature of Pole's credentials, is quite sufficient to account for his mortifications, without having recourse to indiscreet speeches, or even to the letters of inconsiderable persons about him.

designated, it is affirmed that England has been long torn from this body by the impiety of certain individuals. It admits that the desired re-union is impeded by difficulties respecting property alienated from ecclesiastical uses; and adds, that the pontiff being unwilling to hinder, from temporal considerations, the salvation of so many souls redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, had resolved to imitate the pious father of the returning prodigal. This disposition was to be shewn by authorising the Legate to remove all apprehensions from such holders of ecclesiastical property as might be recommended to him by the Queen's intercession. With these favoured individuals he was empowered to treat, agree, transact, compound, dispense, conclude, and do whatever might seem necessary and opportune; so that they might retain their acquisitions without any scruple. The property, however, was described as unduly detained; and such things as were of great magnitude and importance were to await confirmation from the Roman see[1]. This instrument, therefore, promised a full and unqualified recognition of all titles to ecclesiastical property, which might be vested in persons agreeable to the Queen, provided that the Legate chose to confirm her Majesty's judgment, and that the gratification which it might be proposed to bestow should not be of the first magnitude. In this latter case the Pope was also to be consulted; but

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 295. There is another brief, also printed in Bp. Burnet's collection, empowering Pole to act as Legate for England while he might remain upon the continent. This is dated June 26.

there was obviously little reason to doubt that he would readily sanction arrangements recommended by his English friends. Thus, in this new device, his Holiness meekly submitted to the teaching of an enemy. It has been generally, and far from irrationally believed, that in King Henry's time, numerous families were brought to think favourably of the Reformation, because they had been enriched by its means. These same families, or their assigns, were now to be tempted over to the other side in the same manner. Assuredly the Legate would be assailed by no royal intercessions for such persons as were not contented with holding a conventual estate, without holding a scriptural faith together with it. The whole concession, therefore, resolves itself into an expedient for enabling Mary to carry on her designs, by conferring upon her an extensive power over the pecuniary affairs of her subjects. However agreeable this discretion might have been to the Queen and the Emperor, certainly the latter, and the ministers of both, knew that the public acceptance of it, especially on the very eve of a marriage highly unpopular, would, in all probability, bring instant ruin upon their expectations. Pole, accordingly, found that his new powers neither appeared likely to hasten the termination of his suspense, nor to diminish his mortifications. He was even represented not only in the imperial cabinet, but also in those of London and Rome, as utterly unfit for the business entrusted to him[m]. He did not, however, for some time, despair

[m] "Occultis invidiis apud Reginam et Philippum, nec non Cæsarem, atque Papam pœne supplantatus, et a legatione revo-

of ultimate success in his objects, but exerted himself, by all imaginable means, to remove the prejudices existing against himself and his mission. He kept up an active correspondence with men of business in Italy, Flanders, and England; he wrote congratulatory letters to both the Emperor and Philip upon the latter's marriage. He laboured to interest in his favour the celebrated Dominican, Bartholomew Carranza, who had come to England with Philip, and was highly valued by him [n]. Still he met with nothing more satisfactory from any quarter than evasive civilities. At length his spirits began to flag, and he reluctantly thought once more of returning into Italy [o]. Before his mind was finally made up to

catus est." (Parker, 523.) "While this negociation was going forward, envy, which, as the shadow follows the substance, attends eminent merit, endeavoured, by every low and ungenerous method, to hinder the effects of the Legate's zeal, and keep him at a distance. All the ill services which malice and jealousy could suggest were employed at the courts of Rome, Brussels, and England, to set him aside, and represent him as unfit for the commission he was charged with." Phillips, ii. 116.

[n] Pallavicino, ii. 40.

[o] "Cardinal Poole having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, th' one for the meaning of a civil peace between the French King and the Emperor; and the other for the helping to conclude a spiritual peace, as he termeth it, in the realm of England; perceiving neither of them both to come to pass as his good mind doth desire, doth begin as me seemeth, to be out of comfort. And being in manner clearly in despair of th' one, if he receive not shortly some likelihood of the other, being weary of so much time spent without fruit, beginneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy." Mason, the English resident at Brussels, to Queen Mary, dated October 5. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 309.

a disappointment so severe, he wrote, on the 21st of September[p], a long letter of expostulation to Philip. This nonsensical[q] composition sets forth, that the writer had been knocking at the palace door, ineffectually, for a twelvemonth; and that if the King should ask, as people commonly do, when there is a knocking at their doors, who knocks? he might be answered, It is a man who has allowed himself to be driven from his country and his home, and to live in exile for twenty years, because he would not consent to have the royal house shut against her who now shares it with yourself. This, however, he proceeds, was not his only claim for admittance. He knocked also as the representative of him, who is the chief shepherd of mankind, the successor of St. Peter; or, as it might be said, with no less truth, of Peter himself, whose authority, once flourishing in the kingdom, but opposed to the expulsion from the palace of her now seated there, had been most injuriously repudiated. This Apostle, he continues, "has been long, in my person, knocking at the royal gates, which, though open to all the world besides, are yet closed against him. Have, therefore, those within

[p] Pallavicino, ii. 40.

[q] Cardinal Pallavicino, however, says of this letter, that its humble reverence, apostolical liberty, eloquence, and pithiness, had made him think of inserting the whole of it in his work. *(Una lettera lunghissima, mista d' umile riverenza, e d' Apostolica libertà, e così eloquente, e sugosa, che io sono stato in forse di registrarla intera in quest' opera.)* Bp. Burnet has inserted the whole of this letter in the Records appended to his third volume, (p. 310): enquirers, therefore, may easily judge for themselves.

never heard the sound of his knocking, or the voice of his calling? Truly they have heard, and indeed with no less admiration of the Divine power and benignity towards the Church, than formerly affected that Mary who is mentioned in the Acts[r], when Rhoda, the damsel, informed her, that Peter, whom the King had thrown into chains, that he might presently kill him, and for whom the Church assiduously prayed, was standing knocking before the door." The writer then goes on with this conceit, terming the government which condemned the papal partizans, "Herodian," and complaining, that the names of St. Peter's successors were yet blotted out of the service-books. When Mary's maid, he says, heard Peter's voice, she ran, as if beside herself, to let Mary and the other inmates know; and these persons, though Herod still lived and reigned, no sooner ascertained that he was at the door, than they gave the Apostle admittance. But as for Mary the Queen, though she herself has heard Peter's voice, and knows that he has long stood knocking at her door, though she acknowledges that not an angel, but the Divine Providence itself, threw down the iron gate which threatened to shut her out from the palace; yet for all this she is afraid to let Peter in, notwithstanding the death of Herod, and the vesting of all his power in her own person. The Cardinal then takes leave of his parallel between Mary, the damsel's mistress, and Mary the Queen; addressing himself, during the remainder of his letter, to Philip personally. The

[r] Acts x.

purport of this address is to set the King upon allaying the apprehensions of his wife. "Had I come alone," he adds, "I should have long since departed, complaining that a door, which denied admittance to no one else, was closed against me; or if Peter only had come with me, he would long since have departed, taking me with him, and shaking off the dust from his feet for a testimony against you. Since, therefore, I make no complaints as to myself, and Peter continues to knock, be assured that we are both of us kept at your doors by our Divine Master himself, who desires an entrance into your house for your own spiritual benefit."

Whatever might be Philip's opinion of this communication, it was well calculated to work upon the Queen, and to augment that anxiety for the writer's arrival which had never ceased to possess her mind[s]. Renard, imperial ambassador at the English court, sailed, accordingly, for the continent, within a few days after the receipt of the letter from Pole, and was admitted to a confidential interview with him, in the presence of the papal nuncio. It was enquired in this conference, whether Pole would be contented to pass over into England, merely as a private Cardinal, deferring all appearance of the legatine character until circumstances should render its assumption expedient: also, whether he purposed to exercise his authority without consulting with the

[s] "Quibus omnibus Polo adversis incommodis solum Reginæ jam visendæ desiderium atque studium restitit. Illa enim abfuisse tam dire Polum ægre tulit." Parker, 523.

King and Queen? He was likewise urged to solicit for more ample powers from Rome, it being apprehended in England, that if he began to act upon those already granted, he would erect a court, and harass by processes in it all the holders of ecclesiastical property. To the first enquiry, Pole replied, that after so long a period of mortifying suspense, he might reasonably expect to be received among his countrymen with more than ordinary distinction; but that, his conduct would ill accord with the Pontiff's anxiety to facilitate by every means the salvation of England [t], if he were to decline an opportunity of entering that kingdom, even under circumstances less honourable than were justly due to his commission. As for the second question, he assured Renard, that he meant to act with the concurrence of their Majesties; and he stated, as a fact for which he could personally vouch, that this determination was agreeable to the Pontiff. "With respect to fuller powers:" the Legate added: "I have such already. Besides the two bulls with which the court of England is acquainted, his Holiness has entrusted me with a third. By this I am allowed, in general terms, to do whatever may seem opportune to me for placing the souls of my countrymen in safety; and Julius has promised me, by the word of a Pontiff, to ratify every arrangement that I may make [u]." Renard expressed great

[t] "Agevolare in ogni modo la salute di quel reame." Pallavicino, ii. 41.

[u] "*Oltre a quelle speciali facoltà, haveva una bolla ove il*

satisfaction on hearing this unexpected intelligence, and he requested a copy of the instrument for transmission into England, saying, that it would greatly lessen the impediments to a reconciliation between that country and Rome. In the course of a conversation which followed, Pole declared, that the Pope, wholly regardless of temporal considerations, was anxious only for the salvation of England; and that he himself, though resolute against bargains with persons alienated from the Church, would treat indulgently all who should freely return into her bosom. The nuncio not only confirmed all such parts of Pole's conversation as were likely to give satisfaction in England, but he went even much farther than the Legate in pledging his court to an unexceptionable accommodation with the holders of ecclesiastical property in that country. Renard then

Papa gli concedeva generalmente di fare quanto giudicasse opportuno per la salute di quelle anime: volendo ch' ivi s'intendesse compreso eziandio ciò che richiedesse special menzione di sua natura; e ne prometteva in parola di Pontefice la ratificazione." (Ibid.) Bishop Burnet appears not to have seen Cardinal Pallavicino's two ponderous folios, for he makes no mention of this papal manœuvre. Phillips is equally silent upon this subject. Dr. Lingard mentions it in a note; adding, that Pole was desired to prepare for his journey, immediately after Renard's return. No sooner, in fact, was it known, that Pole had been secretly furnished with the bull in question, than Charles's ministers ceased to fear the recognition of his legatine powers. This bull, however, places in no creditable light the policy of the papal court. It is a counterpart to that artifice which served to amuse King Henry, while the two Cardinals were affecting to consider his claims for a divorce from Catharine of Aragon. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 205.

told Pole, that he was instructed, in the names of their Majesties, to offer him the archbishopric of Canterbury. The Cardinal, after expressing himhimself highly obliged by this offer, said that he was unable at that time, to accept it, because his present commission placed him wholly at the Pope's disposal, and because he felt himself precluded from thinking of his own private affairs, until he had accomplished the public objects entrusted to his management.

The court of Rome had already become fully sensible, that it must either abate the rigour of its pretensions, or abandon the prospect of recovering its influence over England. To the representations of Charles's ministers was this conviction owing, and it drew at length from Julius, with the unanimous consent of the consistory, such a solemn grant of general powers for Pole, as would be likely to satisfy his more opulent countrymen. But before the arrival of his new credentials, Mary had resolved to terminate abruptly his suspense [x]. The general election had ended to the satisfaction of the court, Philip's treasure was actually deposited in the Tower, the Legate was known to possess a sort of half-official document by which unquestionable titles might be made to ecclesiastical property, and the papal nuncio had pledged his master as to such courses as would render Popery palatable among the upper classes of Englishmen. With a view of aiding these favouring circumstances in their opera-

[x] Pallavicino, *ut supra*.

tion upon the public mind, a literary attempt was made to counteract the prejudices which prevailed against the character of Pole. From the press of Cawood, the royal printer, issued an oration to the legislature[7], in which the reigns of Henry and Edward were arraigned in the most resolute spirit of libellous vituperation; and the expatriated Cardinal was extolled as an honour to the human race. It would, certainly, have been more satisfactory to discerning minds, if, by means of extracts from accessible and authentic documents, it had been shewn that Pole's real character was very different from that which most observers of good understanding would attribute to him from his acts and writings. In this way only was there any rational hope of neutralising the effect of that selection from his "seditious and blasphemous" treatise upon Ecclesiastical Unity, lately published by his enemies. Instead, however, of attempting to vindicate the Cardinal in this reasonable manner, his apologist inveighs against rulers who choose from inferior life individuals for important employments, and he labours to raise his hero's reputation by a mass of fantastic eulogy. By the banishment of Pole, this rhetorician says, England lost, in a manner, all her graces; nobility and piety receiving their first wound at that inauspicious moment. The Cardinal is represented as a gem of virtue, enlightening by his

[7] Entitled *Pro Instauratione Reip. Anglorum, proque Reditu reverendiss. et illustriss. D. Reg. Poli, &c. Oratio ad prudentiss. Senat. Angl. Autore Jodoco Harchio Montensi.* Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. Append. 242.

presence foreign nations, while his absence casts a shade of obscurity over his native land. If the senators should reject a pilot of such excellence, it is asserted, that they must be bent upon encountering shipwreck. The Cardinal is then compared to Camillus; he is described as "the second father of eloquence, next to Cicero;" and it is asked, if ye will not restore him, "who can oppress the seditious Gracchi; who, the Catilines raging against you in clandestine councils[2]?". While this declamatory precursor of the expected messenger from Rome was courting the notice of readers, preparations calculated to dazzle the multitude were made for Pole's reception. Some of his domestic officers laid before the Queen a detailed account of the sums which were required for their master's use; and this statement plainly shews that Cincinnatus was not one of the worthies of ancient Roman story whom the Cardinal might be expected to resemble. He maintained, it appears, a retinue of one hundred and sixty persons, and he needed for ordinary purposes a monthly sum of one thousand crowns, besides his own revenues, and the Pope's provisions. The yearly expense of his own apparel was estimated at five hundred crowns, and the same amount of money was represented as necessary for the dresses of his principal attendants. Two thousand nine hundred crowns were also demanded as an outfit for accommodating his Eminence with a sufficient supply of plate, hard-ware, and linen[3].

[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. Append. 242.
[3] Ibid. 241.

All arrangements having been made for Pole's reception in England, the Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Hastings repaired to Brussels for the purpose of conducting him over. The Emperor was in high spirits on the arrival of these distinguished persons, being naturally rejoiced to hear that his son had overcome the opposition to his policy; and probably yet more delighted to be informed that Mary was pregnant: a premature piece of intelligence then communicated to him [b]. Before the Cardinal departed from Brussels, the subject of ecclesiastical property was agitated again, and he pledged both himself and the Pope to a settlement of all such questions which would prove universally satisfactory. He travelled through the Low Countries in a leisurely manner, both on account of his delicate health, and for the sake of appearing with becoming dignity [c]. A royal yacht bore him across the strait, and on landing at Dover, he found his nephew, the Lord Montague, together with several other persons of distinction, to welcome his restoration to the land of his fathers. His protracted exile had been owing, as his successor in the see of Canterbury well observes, to his own perfidy alone,

[b] "He (Charles) gave God thanks not only for the great miracles, which he had shewed upon your Majesty to make you his apt minister for restoring of that kingdom to the ancient dignity, wealth, and renown, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so soon so certain a hope of succession." Paget and Hastings to King Philip, and Queen Mary. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 314.

[c] Ibid. This letter is dated from Brussels: Nov. 13.

and he now might be reasonably expected to prove, as indeed he did prove, the scourge and executioner of his pious countrymen [d]. But this mournful anticipation moved not a large proportion among the more influential members of English society. Some of them were eager for pensions and gratuities from the court. Most of them drew from property, once ecclesiastical, resources for the maintenance of their respective stations. The Cardinal had pledged himself to fence in these acquisitions for them by new securities. But they were still individually, and it might even be collectively, at his mercy. They received him accordingly, with the most flattering marks of distinction. As the pompous escort, provided in his honour by the crown, moved through Kent, the neighbouring gentry emulously joined it. At Gravesend the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Durham awaited the Cardinal's approach, and presented him with a copy of the act reversing his attainder. He then embarked on board a royal barge, and placing at the prow a silver cross, as the ensign of his dignity [e], he proceeded up the Thames to Greenwich. He there found other persons of high rank in attendance, and thence, after a short stay, he made his way to Westminster. The Chancellor Gardiner received

[d] "Redit in patriam Polus; ex qua non ulla vi sed sua perfidia tam diu abfuisset: reditque natura peregrina atque fera indutus, et *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ carnifex ac flagellum;* cujus jam patronus atque tutor esse debuit atque potuit." Parker, 523.

[e] Phillips, ii. 126.

him on landing, and conducted him to the king[f], who met him at the palace-gate, having left the dinner-table to welcome his approach. The Queen, being unwell, did not go farther than the head of the stairs, where she offered to her long-lost cousin some apologies for his recent detention upon the continent. Pole indelicately, and not over piously, replied; "God has been pleased to defer my return until every thing is ripe for it; and until I am enabled thus to address your Highness, *Blessed is the fruit of thy womb*[g]." The Cardinal, after a short confer-

[f] Extract from a sermon preached by Foxe, at St. Paul's Cross, in 1578. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 249.

[g] St. Luke i. 42. "Alla quale iscusatione il Signor Legato rispose, Che Dio haveva voluto, che fosse tardato a tempo più maturo; perché egli havesse potuto dire a sua Altezza, come diceva: *Benedictus fructus ventris tui:* accennando alla sua gravidanza." (Descriptio Reductionis Angliæ ad Catholicam Unitatem, an. 1554. Ex opusculo inscripto *Il felicissimo Ritorno del Regno d' Inghilterra*, &c. sine loc. et nom. impress. Append. ad Pol. Ep. v. 309.) It must be owned that an anonymous Italian pamphlet does not seem very good authority; but as there is no other for the minor particulars of Pole's reception at the English court, writers have been contented to accept of this. Bp. Burnet appears to have fallen into some mistake respecting this trifling and indelicate incident; for he represents that the Queen, being thrown into a nervous flurry when Pole was addressing the Parliament, four days afterwards, fancied that she felt her offspring move within her, likening her case to that of Elizabeth, in the Gospel. The truth, however, is, that a circular from the council publicly announced Mary's imaginary pregnancy on the day before that in which Pole addressed the Parliament.

ence with their Majesties, and the delivery of his credentials, was conducted to the archiepiscopal residence at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his accommodation [h].

On the 28th [i] of the month, both Houses attended their Majesties in the great chamber at Whitehall, Mary being unable, from indisposition incident to pregnancy, as it was ostentatiously represented [j], to meet them in their ordinary place of assembly. She sat with her husband under a canopy; and on a seat to their right was placed the Cardinal, with his cap upon his head. Gardiner thus introduced the business of the day: "My Lords of the Upper House, and you, my Masters of the Nether House, here is present my Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and one which pertaineth to the glory of God, and to your universal benefit. The which embassage, it is the pleasure of their Majesties, that you should hear from his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise as their High-

[h] Foxe, 1341. Pole arrived on the 23d of November. King Philip to Donna Joanna. Ribadeneyra, 220.

[i] Ibid.

[j] "This day did the King and Queen, and the Lords of Parliament, sit at the court at Whitehall, in the chamber of presence; where the Queen sat highest, richly apparelled, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child. At this Parliament, it was said, labour was made to have the King crowned; and some thought that the Queen for that cause did lay out her belly the more." Contemporary Diary, printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 323.

nesses have done, and that you will give unto him an attentive and inclinable ear." Pole then arose, and after thanking his auditory for the reversal of his attainder, thus proceeded: "I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet that ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where it could not be taken, you never failed of my prayers, nor ever shall. Leaving, however, the rehearsal of particulars, I come to that which is now my principal travel, to wit, the restoration of this noble realm to its ancient nobility. The see apostolic, whence I come, hath an especial respect for this realm above all others, and not without reason; seeing that God himself hath, as it were, by a particular providence, given to this realm prerogative of nobility above others. To make this plain, you are to be informed, that this was the first of all islands which received the light of Christ's religion. As history testifies, it stood first among the provinces in embracing the faith of Jesus; for the Britons received Christianity from the Apostolic see not in parts, as other countries did, but altogether at once, as it were, in a moment. But after their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and infidel strangers possessed their land, yet our heavenly Father forgat not the region which once he loved. He so illumined the hearts of the Saxons, that, within a very short space, they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light

of Christ's religion. This benefit must be ascribed to God, but the instruments by which our island gained it came from Rome. With the church established in that city, our forefathers continued henceforth in bonds of strictest unity. Divers of the Saxon kings even thought it not enough to profess obedience to the Roman see, but they left their native realms, and personally offered homage to the pontiffs, from whom they had derived such mighty spiritual advantages. Others of our countrymen shewed the greatness of the benefit which their nation had received by displaying such qualities as obtained the highest respect among foreigners. Alcuin was invited from England by Charlemagne, for the purpose of teaching in the university of Paris. Adrian IV. an Englishman, converted Norway from heathenism; which Adrian afterwards, from his affection to this his native country, gave the dominion of Ireland, then pertaining to the see of Rome, to our King Henry II. But I will not rehearse the manifold benefits which our country hath received from the Apostolic see, nor the manifold miseries which the nation hath undergone since it swerved from unity with the same. I must, however, say, that the like plagues have happened in all countries, which, forsaking Catholic unity, have followed fantastical doctrines. Asia and Greece have swerved from unity with the Church of Rome, and they are fallen under subjection to the Turk. Germany has also swerved from this unity: hence she is afflicted miserably with a diversity of sects and factions. Why should I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood

which have happened there of late years? Or why should I trouble you with mention of those plagues which have happened here since the innovation of religion? Yet see how far forth this fury went. Those who live under the Turk may freely live after their own consciences, but so it was not lawful here. If it be well examined upon what grounds these innovations began, they will be seen to have arisen from avarice, and from the carnal lust of one man. There was, however, no need why all these devices practised in this realm against the Church of Rome should have lost you. There wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to aid the Church in that quarrel. Now mark the sequel of these changes. Upon the face of them seemed to be great wealth and gain, but they ended in great misery and lack. See then how God can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly, bringing plain ruin and decay from that which was looked upon as a relief. Observe again, that divine goodness, which has never failed us. When the light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches being defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupt; yet in a few, and especially in the breast of the Queen's Excellency, remained the confession of Christ's faith. And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness. When numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power was prepared to destroy her, yet she, virgin as she was, helpless, naked, and unarmed, she prevailed, and gained the victory over tyrants. This is not to be

ascribed to any policy of man, but only to the great goodness and providence of Almighty God. To Him be the honour and glory thereof. This your Queen and lawful governess, who was born among you, God hath appointed to reign over you, for the restitution of true religion, and for the extirpation of all errors and sects. And for the confirming of her Grace more strongly in this enterprise, lo! the providence of God hath united her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, though possessed of great might, force, and armour, yet useth towards you none of these things, but seeketh you by means of love and amity alone. You have great reason to thank God for sending to you such a Catholic governess, and for conjoining her with such a spouse. Nor is it to be doubted that God will send issue to their Majesties, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth[k]. Of all the princes in Germany the Emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion; yet he hath not, haply by some secret judgment of God, achieved his end. I can well compare him to David, who, though elect of God, for that he was contaminate with war and blood, could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof unto his son Solomon, the peaceful king. So it may be thought, that the appeasing of controversies in religion is not appointed unto the Emperor, but rather unto his son, who shall complete that building of the Church, which his father hath begun. Now this Church cannot be perfectly builded unless all realms

k "The Cardinal here appeareth to be a false prophet." Foxe.

adhere to one head, acknowledging him as the vicar of God endued with power from above: for all power is of God; and He, for the conservation of quiet and godliness, hath divided it on earth into two distinct branches, the imperial and the ecclesiastical. The former of these within this realm is vested in their most excellent Majesties, here present; the latter is, by the authority of God's Word, and the examples of the Apostles and fathers, attributed to the see of Rome. From this see I stand here the deputed legate and ambassador, having ample authority from thence to use the keys which of right belong to it. I cannot, however, use these keys, and open to you, because of certain impediments on your parts, which must be removed before my commission can take full effect. I protest before you, that my commission is not of prejudice to any person; I come to reconcile, not to condemn. I am not come to call any thing in question already done: my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it; for all matters past shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness. Now the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit is the repeal of those laws which are impediments, blocks, and bars in the way of executing my commission. For like as I myself had neither place nor voice among you until you had revoked the law which kept me from my country; even so cannot you receive the grace offered by the apostolic see before all such laws are abrogated as disjoin and dissever you from the unity of Christ's Church[1]."

[1] Foxe, 1341.

One of the most remarkable features in this harangue is an offensive hardihood of assertion. That a man attainted immediately after he had undertaken a mission to stir up foreigners against his native country, should solemnly declare his exile to have been unjust, is, indeed, a lamentable instance of disregard for truth. Nor, if the matter were prepared before delivery, can it seem otherwise than most unguarded, that the speaker informed his hearers of a disposition on the parts of mighty potentates to aid rebellious movements in favour of the Roman Church: a disposition, as it was well known, which he himself had traitorously laboured to excite. And how can a reasonable share of knowledge, or it may be of ingenuousness, be attributed to a professed scholar, who could venture to cite some obscure hints and traditions as proofs that England was originally converted from heathenism by means of the Roman bishops? What evidence do these doubtful fragments furnish to warrant such a bold assumption? And, even were they clearer, what evidence, nay more, what probability is there, that any one article now contained in the creed of Pope Pius IV. was believed among Christians at Rome, until a long interval after the apostolic age? Now Pole had been at Trent, and therefore he must have known that the positions upon which he presumed to build so boldly were absolutely denied, and that upon very plausible grounds, to go no farther, by all the scholars of that party which had instructed his auditors for the last twenty years. Again, what folly was it to say that Ireland belonged to the Pope; that the

Reformation of England was owing entirely to the lust of one man, and the avarice of others; that the light of true religion had been utterly extinct; that the English clergymen, now nobly suffering in dungeons and exile, were corrupt; that the churches had been defaced, because they were stripped of certain objects undeniably abused by ignorant persons to superstitious, if not to idolatrous uses; and to make an outcry because tables of wood were substituted for altars of stone? All these parts of Pole's address, however, serve only to place his discernment in a contemptible light. His intimation, that the benefits of his coming were unattainable unless the Parliament should prove obsequious, is liable to a much more serious censure. It was, in fact, an awakening hint as to the precarious nature of titles to property, once ecclesiastical, which could hardly fail of moulding the Legislature to the will of the court[m].

The Cardinal having ended, it was replied to him on the part of their Majesties, that his arrival in England, and the exposition of his objects had given them great pleasure; and that they would command the Parliament to return a speedy answer to his

[m] Philip, in writing to his sister says, amusingly enough, that Pole persuaded the states to admit the benignity with which our Lord was treating them, by means of his vicar, with many examples, and *reasons very efficacious*. "Persuadiendo a los dichos estados que admittiessen esta benignidad y merced que nuestro Señor, por medio de su vicario, usava con ellos, con muchos exemplos, y razones mui eficaces." Ribadeneyra, 220.

commission. The Chancellor Gardiner then acquainted the two Houses with the course which the sovereigns wished them to pursue [n]. He added, also by command, as it might seem from Philip's letter, some absurdities intended to pass for an appeal to the religious feelings of his auditory. The legislators were told to consider the mercy of our Lord in thus calling them; likewise what they owed to themselves, to their consciences, and to the commonwealth. The meaning enveloped in this mass of hypocritical affectation, was merely that their Majesties wished the two Houses thankfully to consider their suggestion, and to return an answer to it within three days. An implicit obedience to the court in this respect appears not to have occasioned the slightest opposition in the Upper House. The Commons were something less obsequious, many members being disposed to reject the Legate and his errand [o]. There were only two, however, who openly resisted. One of these refused to vote. Sir Ralph Bagnal, the other dissident, said, "I have sworn against the papal authority in the time of King Henry VIII. He was a worthy prince, and he laboured five and twenty years before he could abolish the Pope's power over England, and I will not now agree to the restoration of it [p]." This display of conscientious

[n] "Mandamos dezir a los estados por el Chanciller d'este reyno lo que nos parecio convenir." (Ribadeneyra, 221.) Gardiner, probably, told the two Houses, that they were expected to prepare a formal submission to the Roman see.

[o] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 324. From a contemporary diary.

[p] Ibid.

feeling excited, we are told, an universal burst of laughter in the House[q]. On the following day, being the festival of St. Andrew, the two Houses repaired again to the royal presence-chamber, where, as before, the Sovereigns and the Legate met them. They knelt before the throne[r], and presented to

[q] This incident, as also the statement that another member opposed the subjugation of England to Rome by his silence, depends for authority upon the anonymous Italian pamphlet cited before, and reprinted in the supplement to Pole's correspondence. "Fue dunque fatta la proposta in ciascuna delle Due Case di ritornare alla union Catolica, e di sottoporsi alla obedientia del Papa, capo d'essa in terra: e fu sopra tal proposta votato separatamente, ed attenuta con mirabil consenso ed applauso. Peciochè di 440 voti, che erano in tutto, due soli di quelli del popolo si mostrarono in tanto numero discrepanti, l'uno tacendo, e l'altro dicendo, havere scrupulo del giuramento altra volta preso in contrario, di non esser mai sotto obedienza del Papa. *Di che tutti gli altri si risero.* I quali due tuttavia, vedendo poi il commun consenso di tutti gli altri, consentirono anco essi il giorno seguente nell' atto che si fece della riunione." (Append. ad Ep. Pol. v. 314.) Dr. Lingard (vii. 245.) follows this writer in representing that Bagnal desisted from this opposition on the following day. The contemporary diarist, however, printed by Strype, intimates nothing of the kind, nor does Gardiner, in the following words which he addressed to Rogers, the martyr, on the 22d of the following January: "Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the Parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting it, *but one man which did speak against it.* Such an unity, and such a miracle hath not been seen." Foxe, 1349.

[r] "They did exhibit, sitting all on their knees, a supplication to their Highnesses." (Foxe, 1343.) This is not, however, mentioned in Philip's letter to his sister. Perhaps the King did not think of it, because kneeling was the ordinary posture in which princes were addressed, especially by petitioners.

their Majesties, as individuals undefiled by the offences to which the petitioners now pleaded guilty, a supplication in Latin. This besought the royal personages to intercede with Pole for absolution in behalf of the suppliants and the nation. It expressed, that the parties present were very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience to the Roman see, which had been committed in the realm by means of laws made, agreed to, and executed in prejudice to that see, and also for all other things done and said that might impugn the same. It also pledged the legislators to the repeal of all such laws. This memorial being read aloud, Philip and Mary made a shew of holding a private conference with the Legate, and of interceding with him for the suppliants[s]. Pole, of course, was easily persuaded, and he soon came forward, thanking God for the spectacle before him, and expressing himself rejoiced in this prosperous issue of his mission. The legislators, then kneeling again, "with much devotion and signs of repentance[t]," the spiritual father who had found his way at last from Rome, even outwent their intreaties for mercy. For he kindly pardoned their heresies, a species of delinquency which they had not charged either upon themselves or the nation. This re-admission to papal favour began with a precatory form of general absolution, and it thus concluded: "We, by apostolic authority given unto us

[s] "Hablamos a parte con el dicho Cardenal, y hizimos intercession por ellos." Ribadeneyra, 221.

[t] "Ellos recibieron la absolucion con mucha devocion, y senales de arrepentimiento." Ibid.

by the most holy Pope Julius III. his vicegerent in earth, do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm, and the dominions thereof from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother, the holy Church, as in our letters most plainly it shall appear: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This triumph over the well-selected legislators having been thus achieved by the aid of court-gratuities, and questionable titles to estates, the victors and the vanquished all adjourned together to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was solemnly chaunted in honour of the event [u]. On the preceding day, this noble hymn had, by the diocesan's command, been sung in the London churches, being rendered more imposing by processions, and by the ringing of bells [x]. All this ecclesiastical rejoicing was intended to signalise the Queen's pregnancy. Now the people were called upon to exult in the successes of the papal court; so that altogether at this time the metropolis of England presented a very joyous and animated appearance. Intelligence of these proceedings naturally proved highly grateful at Rome; where a papal mass, processions and indulgencies did honour to a revolution which once more established the pontiff's authority over England [y].

[u] Foxe, 1343.

[x] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 325.

[y] Pallavicino, ii. 42. Pole announced the proceedings of St. Andrew's day in a letter to the Pope, which is among the silliest

On Advent Sunday[1], Cardinal Pole came by water to Castle Baynard, at nine o'clock in the morning. He was there received as papal Legate[2], by the Lord Mayor of London, and conducted to St. Paul's. In the bishop's palace were waiting Gardiner, the Chancellor, and others of the prelacy, who, robed and mitred, attended the Cardinal into the choir. By ten o'clock King Philip arrived with a magnifi-

things that he ever produced, as the following extract will testify: "How holily did your Holiness, with all your authority and earnest affection, favour this marriage; (between Philip and Mary) which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King, which being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat, to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind; for even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and the son of this Virgin, (for so he behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is an husband,) that he might, as in effect he hath already performed, shew himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and his body, which is the Church." (Foxe, 1344.) The Pope shewed himself quite worthy of such a correspondent; for among the modes of rejoicing over the recovery of England, adopted in Rome, was this. A human head, or something like one was brought out from the mass of contemptible objects which disgrace Rome, under the name of relics, for the purpose of being worshipped by those inhabitants of the city who were placed, from ignorance or incapacity, within the lash of such infamous delusions. "The head of St. Andrew was kept uncovered the whole day, that all the people might see it, visit it, and worship it, as it became them."

[1] December 2.

[2] King Philip to Donna Joanna, Ribadeneyra, 222. A license, under the great seal, for the exercise of the legatine functions was granted to him, on the 10th of December. Harmer, 142.

cent retinue of courtiers, and an escort of four hundred horse. Of these one fourth were Englishmen, the remainder consisted of Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss, in equal proportions. The splendid congregation having assembled, high mass was celebrated with all those aids of pageantry and harmony by which Romanists contrive to render that service attractive and imposing[b]. Afterwards, the King, the Legate, and all the other distinguished persons who had attended mass, together with a throng of less conspicuous auditors, went to hear a sermon preached by Gardiner, at St. Paul's Cross. The text was "*Now it is high time to awake out of sleep*[c]." And the following is a general view of the discourse. "People," the hearers were told, "intending to sleep separate themselves from company." England did this, when she renounced the

[b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 326.

[c] Rom. xiii. 11. Sir Francis Hastings thus excellently remarks upon the unlucky simile which Gardiner rode so hard in this famous discourse. "What more like night than Popery, and the living in it unto a sleep? For as darkness covereth all things in the night, and men cannot walk safely for want of light: so ignorance prevaileth in Popery, and the people are misled therein, so that they cannot see which way they ought to walk, because they are not permitted to exercise themselves in the Word, which is a lantern to our feet, and a light unto our steps: and as in sleep, the hungry man dreameth that he eateth, but when he awaketh his soul is empty; so in Popery the people being fed with men's traditions, think themselves in good plight, but when they are truly waked, as Jonah, by God's Spirit, they perceive that they were hunger-starved, for want of the true food of their soul, the Word of God." Apology or Defence of the Watch-word, 142.

Apostolic see, there being no realm in Christendom like her. In sleep also, men are used to dream, and their visions commonly turn upon various cruelties and abominations. Persecutions, violences, and evils of all kinds were perpetrated during the recent sleep of England. When people begin to sleep, their senses are no longer in exercise. When the ceremonies instituted by the Church to move our senses were abolished, we, in like manner, were overcome by sleep. When a man desires to sleep he puts the candle out. And of late among ourselves all writers agreeing with the Apostolic see were condemned and forbidden; images too, which are laymen's books, were defaced and broken. This sleep of ours hath now continued for twenty years, and during all that time our Church hath been without a head. In truth when King Henry first undertook to be head of the Church, it was no church at all. After him King Edward was only the shadow of a head, for he was under tutors and governors who ruled him as they listed. Then came our present Queen, who was precluded by reason of her sex from being head of the Church. So that, when she came to the throne, we had no head but the two archbishops, and they, being both convicted of one crime, were soon deposed. Thus it came to pass, that while we desired to have a supreme head among us, we had no head at all. Long ago, during the tumult in the North, King Henry, I am sure, was determined to restore the Pope's supremacy. But the time was not come. Had he then done as he wished, it would have been said that he acted from

fear. After that, Master Knevet and I were sent to the Emperor for the purpose of engaging his mediation between England and the Apostolic see[a]. But still, the time was not come. Had King Henry then reconciled himself, his act would have been attributed to worldly policy. Nor was the time come when the question was moved again, at the beginning of King Edward's reign. It would have appeared as if our sovereign, being but a child, had been bought and sold. Nor again, was the time come when our present Queen first took possession of the throne. That was a season of weakness. Nor was the time come even when the King first came among us. It might have been said, that we yielded to force and violence. Now, however, the time *is* come, and the Pope's Holiness has kindly sent our countryman Cardinal Pole with blessings for those who long have cursed and reviled his person and authority. That we may be meet to receive this benediction, we must acknowledge our past offences against his Holiness. I do not exclude my-

[a] This was in the year 1541, when King Henry was again harrassed by the machinations of Popish emissaries in the North, and when, by means of Catharine Howard, the leading men of that party had acquired a considerable influence over him. The instructions given to Gardiner and his colleague were secret, and proved abortive. It is probable, indeed, that Charles was rather to be sounded as to his disposition to obtain such terms for England from the Pope as Henry could accept without dishonour; than requested to pave the way for an unqualified submission, such as disgraced the reign of Queen Mary. A submission of that kind needed the good offices of no third party to render it palatable at Rome.

self from the number of such offenders. I am willing to *rejoice with them that do rejoice*[e], *and to weep with them that weep.* Let us not defer this any longer. The hour is now come. Their Majesties have already restored our holy father the Pope to his supremacy. The three estates of the realm have submitted themselves to his Holiness and his successors. Wherefore, let no man any longer tarry. As St. Paul said to the Corinthians that he was their father, so the Pope may say to us, that he is our father. For we received our faith first from Rome[f]."

But whatever might be the gratification received by the exhibitants and the populace from all this declamation and magnificence, the holders of ecclesiastical property were still uneasy. They had obtained, as yet, no absolution for the canonical offence of increasing their estates at the expense of the Church, and hence the papal benignity hitherto vouchsafed to them was found altogether unequal to render them sufficiently pliant. It was, in fact, evident that until some satisfactory recognition of their titles had allayed the apprehensions of such as had been enriched by the recent spoliations, the government could not venture upon a single *auto da fe.* Thus not only must bigotry and vengeance continue unsated, but also Romanists of good information knew that the triumph of their traditions over God's undoubted word, would prove only ephe-

[e] Rom. xii. 15.
[f] Foxe, 1344.

meral. It was, indeed, true that a large proportion of the less enlightened persons in every rank, and especially in the remoter parts of England, were yet enthralled by the grovelling superstitions which had amused their grandfathers under the name of religion. But most men of cultivated intelligence had long risen superior to this pernicious and degrading bondage; and in London, even persons in the humbler stations, having acquired a knowledge of Scripture, were fully prepared to turn away with merited contempt from teachers bold enough to tell them of articles of faith which the inspired founders of the Catholic Church have omitted to record. In the hope of obtaining such powers from Rome as would fully satisfy the holders of ecclesiastical estates, and thus induce the legislature to revive all that sanguinary code by which Henry IV. had bought over the clergy to patronise his usurpation, a courier was despatched to the Papal court early in December. He bore a communication from the Parliament, apprising the Pope that farther concessions in favour of his see were not to be expected, unless a confirmation of their titles was granted to all who had acquired estates lately set apart for clerical uses[g]. The clergy themselves appear to have been fully sensible, that this sacrifice must be made by their order, or Popery would most probably fail of accomplishing a lasting establishment in the country. The convocation of the southern province presented, accordingly, a supplication to the King and Queen

[g] Foxe, 1345.

in behalf of such as were "*detainers* of ecclesiastical goods." In this paper they declare it to be their duty to strive with all their might against alienations of ecclesiastical estates, but they add, that in this particular case they were justified in declining the exercise of this duty, because multiplied and almost inextricable contracts and dispositions had rendered any attempt to reinstate the Church in all her ancient opulence difficult, and as it were impossible[h]. The clergy assembled in convocation also set an example to the rest of their order by going to Lambeth, on the 6th of December, for the purpose of being reconciled, as the phrase went, by the Cardinal. They were there absolved, in all due solemnity, from the guilt of their perjuries, heresies, and schisms[i]. Meanwhile the Parliament proceeded slowly and cautiously in gratifying the court: a bill to repeal all King Henry's acts in prejudice to the Papacy, not having passed the Lords before the 25th of December[k]. On the preceding day Cardinal Pole, acting probably under authority of the bull which was granted a short time before his departure for England, issued his dispensation in favour of those who were possessed of ecclesiastical property, and of those who had contracted uncanonical marriages. By this instrument all the possessors of such property, whether moveable or immoveable, were to hold it both then and for the future without molestation, disquiet, or disturbance. An admonition was, however, added

[h] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 250.

[i] Foxe, *ut supra*.

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 459.

to those who might possess immoveable goods once belonging to the Church, that, remembering the fate of Belshazzar[l], they should restore articles in their possession, originally meant for sacred uses, to the churches whence they came, if yet remaining, if not, to some other churches. An intelligible hint was also very fairly given to lay possessors of tythe estates, that they ought not to shew themselves wholly regardless of the claims upon such properties which ministers, officiating within their limits, could justly prefer[m]. This long-desired concession having been formally promulged, the bill of repeal rapidly passed the Commons. Objections urged against it in both houses appear, indeed, chiefly to have concerned its operation upon the interests of individuals. It was upon this principle, that Bishop Boner protested against it. The Lord Wentworth had acquired certain lands, formerly belonging to the see of London, and the prelate, therefore, considered himself obliged to protest against a legislative confirmation of this acquisition[n].

This act enumerates and repeals all the statutes passed against the Roman see, since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. It recites, that apprehensions as to the titles of properties once ecclesiastical, had been already removed by the Legate's decree, but that, inasmuch as questions arising out of such possessions are triable only before the civil

[l] Dan. v.

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 251.

[n] Burnet, *ut supra*.

authorities, it legally recognises these titles, and renders all who should attempt to disturb them by ecclesiastical processes, either at home or abroad, liable to a *præmunire*. It provides, however, that this act should not be construed so as to prejudice any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown before the twentieth of King Henry VIII., and it restores the Pope to the same powers, neither diminishing nor enlarging them, that he might lawfully have exercised before that year. It also places the bishops in the same situation as to jurisdiction that they occupied in that year, and it denies that the title of Supreme Head ever belonged of right to the crown [o].

[o] Ibid. "Most readers have very confused and inaccurate notions of the jurisdiction which the pontiff, in virtue of his supremacy, claimed to exercise within the realm. From this act, and the statutes which it repeals, it follows, that that jurisdiction was comprised under the following heads: 1. He was acknowledged as chief bishop of the Christian Church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3. He could grant to clergymen licences of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one benefice with cure of souls. 4. He dispensed with the canonical impediments of matrimony. 5. He received appeals from the spiritual courts." (Lingard, vii. 248, note.) This account may be sufficiently correct as to the claims which the English legislature allowed to the Pontiff, but it is no true statement of the jurisdiction which that personage "claimed to exercise within the realm, in virtue of his supremacy." One pontiff claimed the right of dethroning King Henry VIII., and of releasing his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Another claimed this right as to Queen Elizabeth. But to say nothing of these things, which are represented by

But notwithstanding that their acquisitions were now secured both by legatine and parliamentary authority, there were individuals among the holders of ecclesiastical estates who continued to feel some degree of uneasiness as to the security of such acquisitions. Among these persons was Sir William Petre, who could not accordingly rest until he had obtained an especial confirmation from Rome for his share of the recent spoliations. He had lent the aid of his legal and political talents in most of the reforms which had signalised the two last reigns, and his services had been very liberally requited by grants, or advantageous purchases of ecclesiastical estates. He had now relapsed into Popery, like most persons who had any thing of importance to lose. He resembled also the great mass of such individuals in clinging pertinaciously to the fortune which the Reformation had put into his hands. Ap-

Romish partisans as the mere excesses of individuals, (although such is not the truth,) it is evident that the claims conceded by this Parliament, are alike insulting and dangerous to the state. Ecclesiastical and civil questions are often blended so intimately together, that he who exercises the privilege of deciding finally on the former, will assuredly find opportunities, in the lapse of years, for interference in the latter. But even were it possible to guard against this intolerable evil, the prosecution of English appeals before an Italian tribunal, must be felt as a crying grievance by the appellants. It may be added too, that the Roman bishop can make out no title whatever, from the earliest records of the Catholic Church, to any jurisdiction over our island. Upon the whole, therefore, Queen Mary's legislators, in passing this general act of repeal, committed a most shameful breach of their trust.

prehensive that this valuable property might hereafter be wrested either from him, or from his heirs, under some disingenuous pretence, he made an application to the reigning Pope, during the year 1555, for the pontifical authority to retain his lands, hypocritically professing himself willing, if so required, to make them over to spiritual uses[p]. The papal power had been so recently revived over England, that it was deemed expedient to aid its exercise by every facility; and, accordingly, Petre's application was favourably received at Rome. The desired bull was issued; and thus it has happened, that a family, continuing in the profession of Romanism, is maintained in splendour, chiefly from the produce of estates obtained from the Church, as a compensation for services rendered to the Reformation, and confirmed to its use by an especial grant from Rome.

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 256. That Sir William Petre judged correctly, as to the principles of that ecclesiastical despotism which he had so long politically opposed, but which he was now interested in supporting, is obvious from the following extract. "In a bull of his, addressed in 1712 to the King of the Romans, his Holiness *cancels all promises and oaths made in favour of Protestants; declaring them null and void whenever they are prejudicial to the Catholic faith, the salvation of souls, or to any of the rights of the Church whatsoever, even though such engagements have been ever so often ratified and confirmed.*" (Neve's Animadv. 501.) Ridley, in his review of Phillips, (280.) has printed the original words of this infamous decree, which has been cited on account of its recency. Some affairs of this kind, which occurred about the time of Petre's application, are mentioned by Ridley. The English knight, therefore, had good reason to guard the permanency of his fine fortune, by taking every precaution which his ingenuity could suggest.

The act restoring an Italian prelate to an authority which his see had gradually usurped over England, was sufficiently disgraceful to Queen Mary's third Parliament, but that corrupt and servile assembly lent itself to a measure even more infamous. The Lower House of Convocation requested the prelates to exert themselves for the revival of those laws against Lollards, and other opponents of Popery, which were passed in the reigns of Henry the Fourth, and his son [q]. This hint proved sufficient to set on fire the base spirit of sanguinary bigotry, or subserviency, which prevailed in the packed House of Commons; and, accordingly, a bill to revive these iniquitous statutes was sent from thence to the Lords on the 15th of December. It had been read for the first time so lately as the twelfth of that month. Their Lordships passed it on the eighteenth. They rejected, however, another bill for the voiding of leases granted by married ecclesiastics, which the Commons also sent up, after much debating. It was evident, that if this bill had passed into a law, many of the legislators would have been subjected to pecuniary loss, as the holders of leases granted by married incumbents. Another act passed at this

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 364. This address also prays that measures be taken for driving heretical preachers to a recantation, for condemning the English Liturgy and Cranmer's book upon the Eucharist, for suppressing the sale and importation of all such books, for obtaining some satisfactory arrangement as to the statute of provisors, and for accomplishing other objects of some importance to the clergy, especially under their existing state of relapse into Popery.

time, protecting King Philip's existing relations with England. Any lay persons who should deny his right to share the throne with the Queen, or who should endeavour to deprive him of this right, were for the first offence to forfeit all their goods, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Clergymen thus offending were to undergo deprivation. The second offence was to be treason; as was also to be the crime of compassing the King's death during his marriage with the Queen, or during the time that he might exercise the guardianship of any issue arising from such marriage [r]. The last act passed by this Parliament was for the punishment of such preachers as should pray in their conventicles, that God would either turn the Queen's heart from idolatry to true religion, or take her quickly out of the way. Such offenders, if obstinate, were to suffer as traitors; if penitent, they were to undergo some corporal punishment, short of death, at the judge's discretion. This bill passed through all its three stages in the Upper House on the 16th of January, when the Parliament was dissolved [s]. It is gratifying to have some reason for believing, that an assembly which had run its brief career in a manner so eminently discreditable, was not wholly destitute of enlightened and honourable minds. Thirty-nine gentlemen, however, appear to have vindicated the character of their station, by maintaining an independent course amidst

[r] This was to be until such issue had attained the age of eighteen, being a male; or fifteen, if a female.

[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 464.

the degeneracy displayed all around them. It had been usual for the Houses to adjourn during the customary festivities of Christmas, and horses from the country arrived in town about that time for the purpose of carrying several members of both Houses to their family mansions. Unexpectedly, on the 22d of December, an order came down from the court, prohibiting any member to absent himself from the metropolis until the Legislature should have accomplished its business [t]. To this order obedience was paid until the 12th of January, when thirty-nine members absented themselves wholly from the Lower House. Proceedings were instituted against these individuals in the court of King's Bench, during the next Easter term. Fines were then imposed upon them; and of the number, six submitted to their sentences without any farther struggle. The others were not thus intimidated; but, availing themselves of such defensive processes as the law allowed them, they continued to baffle the court. Probably as the objects which had occasioned the calling of this Parliament were fully carried before its dissolution, there was no great activity used in prosecuting these refractory members; for, at the Queen's decease, their case was yet undecided. It is considered that they were attached to the Reformation [u].

[t] Contemporary Diary, Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 328.

[u] Such is the representation of Lord Coke, and it certainly wears an air of probability. The names of thirty-eight of these members may be seen in Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 262.

CHAPTER III.

Papal persecution—Principles of persecution in the Reformatio Legum—The Marian persecution begun—Public celebrations of the papal triumph over England—Bp. Gardiner's first session at St. Mary Overy's—Condemnation of the first victims—Rogers—Martyrdom of Bp. Hooper—Rowland Taylor—Laurence Saunders—First condemnations of Bp. Boner—General horror of the nation—Death of Julius III. and accession of Paul IV.—Ferrar—Outrage of William Flower—Marsh—Controversy upon persecution—The royal circulars—The Queen's imaginary pregnancy—Cardmaker—Bradford—Further proceedings against the prelates imprisoned at Oxford—Degradation of Bp. Ridley—Martyrdom of the Bishops Latimer and Ridley—Conversion of Julius Palmer—Proceedings in Parliament—Death of Bp. Gardiner—Philpot—Queen Mary's Primer.

When Christianity first obtained protection from imperial Rome, numerous wild and even pernicious opinions brought obloquy and trouble upon the Church. The converted emperors endeavoured, by means of civil penalties, to wipe away these reproaches from their faith; and at length, in an evil hour, the elder Theodosius awarded the punishment of death to certain branches of the Manichean sect[a]. Honorius was equally severe upon the Donatists[b].

[a] Bingham, upon the authority of Gothofred, who published the Theodosian code, says, that this sanguinary law was promulged in 382. Antiqu. ii. 99.

[b] Ibid. 27.

In both these cases it is not to be denied that the civil magistrate's interference was urgently required, and that considerable severity might justifiably be used. There was among the Manichees a disposition to revolting obliquities, and with the Donatists was connected a band of ruffianly partizans, who perpetrated intolerable outrages. Youth and ignorance obviously demanded protection against the assaults of principles, which had not unfrequently furnished excuses for the commission of such enormous crimes, perhaps even incentives to the criminals. Nor if individuals, infected with such errors, had been restrained discreetly by the temporal authorities from activity in spreading their own poisonous delusions, would the laws, visiting such aberrations penally, have been censurable. On the contrary, they would have performed their proper office as the guardians of the public peace and morals. The penalty of death, however, though justly due to certain crimes committed by individuals under colour of the reprobated opinions, was tyrannical and excessive as a measure of precaution levelled against the tenets themselves. It is indeed satisfactory to know that this penalty was very rarely inflicted, and that the most eminent Christian divines condemned the denunciation of it[d]. But the very name of such a punishment was disreputable to the Church; and the insertion of it among the earliest codes of ecclesiastical jurisprudence appears to have exerted a

[c] Called *Circumcelliones*.

[d] Bingham, ii. 28.

most injurious influence upon the subsequent legislation of western Europe. The laws of her several states have been moulded more or less upon those of imperial Rome; and hence probably arose the legal maxim, which has disgraced them all, that heretics are to be proscribed as capital offenders.

Heresy was anciently understood to mean a denial of the Nicene faith, or, more properly, of the religious principles agreed upon in the first four general councils as the sense of Scripture in the leading articles proposed to a Christian's belief[e]. When, however, the Roman bishops had succeeded in obtaining the general admission of their pretensions, it was found necessary to brand as heretics all who resisted that usurpation. In the eleventh century this detestable policy appears to have left a stain of blood upon the annals of Europe; some individuals being then inhumanly massacred, as unsound members of the Christian Church, of whose belief in the Nicene faith there can be no reasonable doubt[f]. The known

[e] "Secundum Apostolicam disciplinam, Evangelicamque doctrinam Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unam Deitatem sub parili majestate, et sub pia Trinitate credamus; hanc legem sequentes, Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, reliquos vero dementes vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. de fide Catholica, leg. 2. A.D. 380." Ridley's Review of Phillips, 303, note. See also Sir Roger Twisden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England. Lond. 1675, p. 136, *et sequ.*

[f] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 49. That the religionists burnt all together in a house at Orleans, in 1017, were not justly chargeable with a departure from the Nicene faith, appears from Peter de Vaux Sernay, who confounds them with the

orthodoxy of their opponents in general seems indeed to have rendered the ruling ecclesiastics rather unwilling broadly to pronounce them heretics in the earlier part of the struggle between Rome and the Albigenses. A council accordingly, holden at Toulouse, in 1119, Pope Calixtus II. being present, which delivered over to secular coercion the holders of opinions resembling those of the modern Quakers, only ventured to treat these sectaries *as if they were* heretics[g]. This canon was repeated, with merely some trifling verbal variations, by the second council of Lateran, holden under Innocent II. in 1139[h]. A council, however, holden at Tours, in 1163, Alexander III. being present, abandoned all reserve respecting the Albigenses, pronouncing them heretics in unqualified terms; anathematising all who should receive them in their territories, or afford them protection; forbidding all dealings with them, and sentencing them to imprisonment, with the confiscation

Albigenses. Historical Defence of the Waldenses, Lond. 1826, p. 27.

[g] "Porro eos qui religionis speciem simulantes Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, puerorum baptisma, sacerdotium, et cæteros ecclesiasticos ordines, et legitimarum damnant fœdera nuptiarum *tanquam* hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus et damnamus, et per potestates exteras coerceri præcipimus. Defensores quoque ipsorum ejusdem damnationis vinculo, donec resipuerint, mancipamus." Conc. Tol. can. iii. Lab. et Coss. x. 857.

[h] Conc. Lat. can. xxiii. Ibid. 1008. The variations from the canon cited above are the following: for "religionis," is read "religiositatis;" for "mancipamus," is read "innodamus;" and the clause "donec resipuerint," is altogether omitted.

of all their goods[1]. These denunciations, with the exception of confiscation and imprisonment, were repeated under the same pontiff at a synod which he held at Rome in 1179, known as the third council of Lateran, and ordinarily termed *general* by Romish authorities. This assemblage abstained from enacting inferior penalties against the anti-papists of southern Gaul, obviously because it was bent upon the flagitious design of exterminating these religionists by fire and sword. It artfully and invidiously joins them with the troops of banditti, and mercenary soldiers, who, under different names, roamed about the country, and it encourages fero-

[1] "In partibus Tolosæ damnanda hæresis dudum emersit, quæ paulatim, more cancri, ad vicina loca se diffundens, per Guasconiam, et alias provincias quamplurimos jam infecit. Quæ, dum in modum serpentis intra suas evolutiones absconditur, quanto serpit occultius, tanto gravius Dominicam vineam in simplicibus demolitur. Unde contra eos, episcopos et omnes Domini sacerdotes in illis partibus commorantes vigilare præcipimus, et sub interminatione anathematis prohibere, ut ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæresis sectatores, ne receptaculum quisquam eis in terra sua præbere, aut præsidium impertire præsumat. Sed nec in venditione aut emptione aliqua cum eis omnino commercium habeatur: ut solatio saltem humanitatis amisso ab errore vitæ suæ resipiscere compellantur. Quisquis autem contra hæc venire tentaverit tanquam particeps iniquitatis eorum anathemate feriatur. Illi vero si deprehensi fuerint per Catholicos principes custodiæ mancipati omnium bonorum amissione mulctentur. Et quoniam de diversis partibus in unum latibulum crebro conveniunt, et præter consensum erroris nullam cohabitandi causam habentes, in uno domicilio commorantur; talia conventicula et investigentur attentius, et si vera fuerint, canonica severitate vetentur." Conc. Turon. can. iv. Ibid. 1419.

cious fanatics, or mere plunderers, to undertake a sanguinary crusade against these religionists and free-booters, by the offer of such indulgences as were the usual meed of a pilgrimage to Palestine [k]. This

[k] "Sicut ait beatus Leo, licet ecclesiastica disciplina sacerdotali contenta judicio cruentas non efficit ultiones; Catholicorum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, ut sæpe quærant homines salutare remedium, dum corporale super se metuunt evenire supplicium. Ea propter quia in Gasconia, Albigesio, et partibus Tolosanis, et aliis locis, ita hæreticorum, quos alii Catharos, alii Patrinos, alii Publicanos, alii aliis nominibus vocant, invaluit damnata perversitas, ut jam non in occulto, sicut aliqui, nequitiam suam exerceant, sed suum errorem publice manifestent, et ad suum consensum simplices attrahant et infirmos: eos, et defensores eorum et receptores anathemati decernimus subjacere, et sub anathemate prohibemus ne quis eos in domibus, vel in terra sua tenere, vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat. Si autem in hoc peccato decesserint, non sub nostrorum privilegiorum cuilibet indultorum obtentu, nec sub aliacumque occasione, aut oblatio fiat pro eis, aut inter Christianos recipiant sepulturam. De Brabantionibus, et Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis, et Triaverdinis, qui tantam in Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec ecclesiis, nec monasteriis deferant, non viduis, et pupillis, non senibus, et pueris, nec cuilibet parcant ætati, aut sexui, sed more Paganorum, omnia perdant et vastent; similiter constituimus, ut qui eos conduxerint, vel tenuerint, vel foverint per regiones in quibus taliter debacchantur, in Dominicis et aliis solemnibus diebus per ecclesias publice denuncientur, et eadem omnino sententia et pœna cum prædictis hæreticis habeantur adstricti, nec ad communionem recipiantur Ecclesiæ, nisi societate illa pestifera, et hæresi abjuratis. Relaxatos autem se noverint a debito fidelitatis, et hominii, ac totius obsequii donec in tanta iniquitate permanserint quicunque illis aliquo peccato (pacto) tenentur annexi. *Ipsis autem, cunctisque fidelibus in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, ut tantis cladibus se viriliter opponant, et contra eos*

profligate canon having completely failed of crushing the anti-papal party, so iniquitously devoted to destruction, Innocent III. determined upon decreeing the deposition of such princes as might refuse to second the exterminating policy of his encroaching see. That immense assembly, known as the fourth council of Lateran, assented to this daring assumption of a political supremacy on the part of the Roman see[1],

armis populum Christianum tueantur. Confisciscenturque eorum bona, et liberum sit principibus hujusmodi homines subjicere servituti. Qui autem in vera pœnitentia ibi decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam, et fructum mercedis æternæ se non dubitent percepturos. Nos etiam de misericordia Dei, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli autoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et ad episcoporum, seu aliorum prælatorum consilium, ad eos decertando expugnandos, biennium de pœnitentia injuncta relaxamus: aut si longiorem ibi moram habuerint, episcoporum discretioni, quibus hujus rei causa fuerit injuncta, committimus, ut ad eorum arbitrium, secundum modum laboris, major eis indulgentia tribuatur. Illos autem qui admonitioni episcoporum in hujusmodi parte parere contempserint a perceptione corporis et sanguinis Domini jubemus fieri alienos. Interim vero eos, qui ardore fidei ad eos expugnandum, laborem justum assumpserint, sicut eos qui sepulchrum Dominicum visitant, sub Ecclesiæ defensione recipimus, et ab universis inquietationibus, tam in rebus, quam in personis, statuimus manere securos. Si vero quispiam vestrum præsumpserit eos molestare per episcopum loci excommunicationis sententia feriatur; et tamdiu sententia servetur ab omnibus, donec et ablata reddantur, et de illatis damnis congrue iterum satisfaciat. Episcopi vero, sive presbyteri, qui talibus fortiter non restiterint, officii sui privatione mulctentur, donec misericordiam Apostolicæ sedis obtineant." Conc. Lat. iii. can. xxvii. Ibid. 1522.

[1] The substance of that clause in the canon which grants this deposing power to the Pope, is given from Collier in the Intro-

and from that time the popes have never ceased to claim the right of deposing such sovereigns as may

duction to this work. (i. 69, note.) An apology, must, however, be made for the incautious insertion, without any notice of its tendency to mislead, of Collier's observation, that this canon, (which is the third, and may be seen at length in Labbe and Cossart's Councils, xi. 147.) is not to be found in the contemporary Mazarine copy. The facts are, that this ancient copy of these famous canons is incomplete also in several other places, and that the leaf which contains the portion of the third canon given by Collier, is torn out. No argument, therefore, against the genuineness of this portion of the third canon is to be drawn from the present appearance of the Mazarine copy. Those who wish to deny that a deposing power in the Papacy has been recognised by any sufficient Romish authority must, accordingly, take the ground offered by Matthew Paris, and represent this body of canons as little more than a code proposed by the Pope, but never completely sanctioned by the Council. Platina likewise, (Ital. Transl. p. 300. Ven. 1715.) thus speaks respecting this council: "Molte cose si consultarono, ma non se puote risolvere, ne conchiudere alcuna; per cagione della guerra maritima ch'era frà i Genovesi, ed i Pisani, e per l'altra, ch'ra frà alcuni popoli della Lombardia." These, and other similar passages, have furnished Romish writers, anxious to disguise the political claims of their Church, with plausible reasons for speaking of these Lateran canons as the mere unauthorised effusions of an ambitious Pope. The same grounds have brought to the same conclusion Bishop Morton, and other eminent Protestants, who have written to shew the novelty of a belief in transubstantiation, and the very slight authority upon which that doctrine was admitted in the western Church.

On the other hand, the second canon expressly mentions the council's approbation, and Raynaldi, the Italian continuator of Baronius, thus writes respecting the whole code: "Jam ad decreta ipsa veniamus, quæ tum in iisdem Innocentii operibus, tum in conciliorum voluminibus leguntur descripta. Cæterum qui Innocentii libros edidit, monet ea non a synodo, sed a Ponti-

govern in a manner prejudicial to the Romish religion. Innocent's obsequious council also sanctioned

fice ipso post synodum conscripta et promulgata: *Fuerunt quidem hæc decreta in eo concilio constituta, quemadmodum et in prædictis decretalibus ubique allegando adnotatur; veruntamen ab ipso Papa Innocentio in hanc redacta sunt formam aliquando post celebratum concilium, id quod cordatus lector facilè deprehendet ex capitibus quibusdum, præsertim ex vicesimo nono, ex trigesimo, et quadragesimo primo.* Hæc ille. *Sed hallucinatus est, errandique occasionem aliis præbuit,* ut Cardinalis Bellarminus recte animadvertit. Lateranense namque, cujus in hisce capitulis fit mentio, ab hoc concilio aliud est, peractum scilicet sub Alexandro III. atque ad errorem hujuscemodi depellendum, in Romana editione notantur ad marginem illius canones hic laudati. *Hæc ergo vera synodi decreta sunt a synodo ipso non constituta solum, sed et edita.*" (Raynal. Annal. Ecclesiast. Luc. 1747. i. 377.) This conclusion of Raynaldi's, as to the whole body of canons, appears sufficiently solid, and with respect to the third canon in particular, there is evidence to shew that the council approved the principle of it. Simon de Montfort, acting under pretence of an authority from the third council of Lateran, had conquered, at the head of his infamous crusaders, the territories of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. That unfortunate prince attended the fourth council of Lateran in person, under the hope of obtaining justice from an ecclesiastical assembly so large and important. Peter de Vaux Sernay says, that even among the prelates at the Council, some were favourable to Raymond's suit, but he adds, "the counsel of Ahitophel did not prevail, the desire of the malignant was frustrated. For our Lord, the Pope, *with the approbation of the greater and sounder part of the council,* granted Toulouse and its territory to Montfort." (Pet. Val. Sern. ap. Labb. et Coss. xi. 233.) This statement is confirmed by Matthew Paris, another contemporary writer. (Ibid. 239.) Among eminent Romish theologians, who have fully recognised the authority of the fourth Lateran council is the learned and exemplary Bishop Fisher. That excellent prelate defends the doctrine of transubstantiation, as having been

an important extension in the definition of heresy! The first canon, assented to by the fourth council of

sanctioned in this council by thirteen hundred fathers, who were not likely to err, unless Christ had vainly promised his presence to the Church. (Roffens. contr. Capt. Bab. 164.) In another portion of his controversial works against Luther (p. 492) this able author recognizes the fourth council of Lateran in a manner equally unqualified. Bishop Gardiner also, in his controversy with Archbishop Cranmer (p. 250.) thus writes: "Albeit the word transubstantiation was first spoken of by public authority in that assembly of learned men of Christendom, *in a general council*, where the Bishop of Rome was present." Bishop Tunstall not only mentions the fourth Lateran council without any observation, but he likewise says transubstantiation appeared most agreeable to our Lord's words, to those who were in that council with Innocent: "His qui cum Innocentio in eo concilio interfuerant visum est." (De Ver. Corp. et Sang. Do. in Euch. 46.) This judgment of individuals rests upon a foundation sufficiently unexceptionable. A provincial council, holden at Arles in 1234, thus speaks: "Mandamus omnibus suffraganeis nostris, et districte præcipimus, ut *canonicas regulas et statuta concilii Lateranensis* IV. a domino Papa Innocentio III. promulgata diligenter observent." (Labb. et Coss. xi. 2340.) The principle also of the third canon of the fourth Lateran council was expressly sanctioned by the first council of Lyons in 1245, at which Innocent IV. presided in person, and which is termed *general* among Romanists. This assembly pretended to dethrone the Emperor, Frederick II. and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, in the following terms: "Nos itaque super præmissis, et compluribus aliis ejus nefandis excessibus, *cum fratribus nostris et in sacro concilio deliberatione præhabita diligenti*, cum Jesu Christi vices licet immeriti teneamus in terris, nobisque in beati Petri Apostoli persona sit dictum; *Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram*, &c. memoratum principem, qui se imperio, et regnis, omnique honore, ac dignitate reddidit tam indignum, quique, propter suas iniquitates a Deo ne regnet, vel imperet, est abjectus, suis ligatum peccatis et abjectum, omnique honore et dignitate

Lateran, consists in a long confession of faith, chiefly declaring the principles of belief established in the first

privatum a Domino ostendimus, denunciamus, *ac nihilo minus sententiando privamus; omnes qui ei juramento fidelitatis teneantur astricti a juramento hujusmodi perpetuo absolventes: autoritate Apostolica firmiter inhibendo, ne quisquam de cætero sibi tanquam imperatori vel regi pareat vel intendat, et decernendo quoslibet, qui deinceps ei velut imperatori aut regi consilium vel auxilium præstiterint seu favorem, ipso facto excommunicationis vinculo subjacere. Illi autem ad quos in eodem imperio imperatoris spectat electio, eligant libere successorem.*" (Ibid. 645.) One of the faults objected against Frederic, is a suspicion of heretical pravity. The validity of the canons attributed to the fourth council of Lateran is unreservedly admitted by the council of Trent, which treats them as the voice of the Church. "Neque enim per Lateranense concilium *Ecclesia statuit* ut Christi fideles confiterentur, quod jure divino necessarium et institutum esse intellexerat; sed ut præceptum confessionis saltem semel in anno, ab omnibus et singulis, cum ad annos discretionis pervenissent, impleretur." (Ibid. xiv. 819.) The Trentine catechism also speaks unreservedly of the canons enjoining confession, as the act of the council; "Ex Lateranensis concilii canone cujus initium est, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, perspicitur," &c. (Catech. ad Par. 254.) and in another place, it pronounces this decree to be that of the holy Church: "Eo canone de quo antea diximus, *sancta Ecclesia decrevit.*" (Ibid. 255.) Upon the whole, therefore, it appears evident, that however indiscreet, and even infamous may have been the conduct of such popes as have pretended to dethrone princes, at variance with their see, they have acted upon grounds of which Romanists may be driven to admit the authority. The reason, probably, why any doubt from ancient sources has been cast upon the canon which assigns a deposing power to the see of Rome, must be sought in the whole complexion of the business transacted by the fourth council of Lateran, during its short session. That assembly pretended, besides doing other things, to deprive Count Raymond of his dominions, and to assert solemnly the perpetual existence of a

four general councils. In addition to these, however, transubstantiation is maintained in this confession;[m] deposing power in the Roman Church; to excommunicate the barons of England who had taken up arms against King John, as the vassal of the Roman Church, *Vassallum Romanæ Ecclesiæ;* to make transubstantiation an article of faith, and to condemn expressly Amaury, an eminent scholar, who denied that doctrine; and, lastly, to fasten about the neck of every Christian, arrived at years of discretion, the degrading yoke of confession to a fellow-sinner. It was to be expected, that some members of such an assembly, being disgusted with its proceedings, should have represented them, on returning to their homes, rather as the mandates of an imperious pontiff, than as the deliberate acts of a venerable synod. Nor is it improbable, that political agitations really did prevent the council from debating, as much even as mere decency required, the propositions laid before it. But that it refused assent to these propositions, there is no sufficient historical reason for believing; and their Church has, by her subsequent decisions, interdicted such a belief to Romanists. Nor again, does the principle of the third canon depend for authority upon this council alone. The third council of Lateran, at which a pope presided, decreed death and forfeiture to inferior opponents of Romanism. This bolt, evidently, would be liable to fall ineffectually unless similar penalties might also be awarded against princes. In the first council of Lyons, also holden in the presence of a pope, such penalties actually were awarded against a sovereign.

[m] For the words in which this is done, see Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 139 (note). It should be added, perhaps, that this confession also broadly asserts the doctrine of exclusive salvation: "Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, *extra quam nullus omnino salvatur.*" It can hardly be doubted, that Innocent, and those who thought with him, considered all disbelievers in transubstantiation, and other opponents of the Roman see as "without" this universal Church. It may also be worth while to remark, that our Lord's mother after the flesh is pronounced "ever a virgin." Excepting these things, and perhaps,

in the third canon, heresy is described as that which raises itself above the faith expounded before. Thus the denial of a mere tradition was formally erected into a heresy. The vindictive intentions of the Roman Church against her opponents being thus openly avowed, and being rendered effective by the arms of interested warriors, she soon ventured upon an indiscriminate proscription of her enemies. The council of Toulouse, accordingly, holden under a papal legate in 1229, enacted seventeen canons against heretics, but it abstained from any definition of their character farther than by enjoining, that it was to be left to the judgment of the ecclesiastical authorities [a]. Thus were the official members of a

likewise, the mention of human merit in the last clause, this confession is irreprehensible. It even affords a negative testimony against that presumptuous and detestable doctrine, adopted by the council of Trent from the schoolmen, that attrition, attended by confession, is sufficient for obtaining the pardon of sin. This Lateran formulary very truly says, that iniquity committed after baptism may be remitted by means of "true repentance." But there, the canon stops. It says nothing of that infamous pretence by which the later Romanists have claimed for their clergy the power of forgiving sins. "Et si post susceptionem baptismi quisquam prolapsus fuerit in peccatum, *per veram pœnitentiam* semper potest reparari." Nor does the 21st canon, which enjoins confession universally, give any hint of the object which modern Romanists chiefly have in view in submitting periodically to that degrading discipline. On the contrary, it speaks of confessors merely as physicians of the soul; a sound view of their office, which is unfolded in the decrees of former councils, and which places the occasional use of such persons in a light at once honourable, safe, and advantageous.

[a] Conc. Tol. can. viii. Labb. et Coss. xi. 429.

triumphant, and exasperated party, freely permitted to single out their adversaries for death and confiscation. To search for such unhappy persons, one priest, with two, three, or more laymen were to be bound by an oath in every parish [o]. Landowners were enjoined also carefully to examine even the woods and caves upon their estates, in order to prevent them from affording shelter to the proscribed opponents of papal Rome [p], and if any gentleman were found to have permitted the residence of such individuals upon his estate, he was not only to lose that property, but also his superior lord was to acquire the power of taking away his personal liberty [q]. A house in which a heretic was found, was to be demolished, land upon which he lived was to be confiscated [r]. Magistrates residing in places against which the Church entertained presumptions, and not exerting great diligence in the detection of her enemies, were to lose their goods, and their offices, and to be rendered incapable of ever taking a similar office again [s]. Even territorial rights were to be disregarded by those who might undertake to hunt for heretics, and any prince was not only to be

[o] Conc. Tol. can. i.

[p] Ibid. can. iii.

[q] "Amittat in perpetuum terram suam, et corpus suum sit in manus domini ad faciendum inde quod debebit." Ibid. can. iv.

[r] Ibid. can. vi.

[s] "Bailivus vero qui semper est in terra residens, *in loco contra quem præsumitur*, nisi contra hæreticos valde solicitus inveniatur et diligens, bona sua amittat, et de cætero, nec ibi, nec alibi, constituatur bailivus." Ibid. can. vii.

allowed the liberty of entering freely the dominions of another, upon this errand, but even also to claim assistance there from the constituted authorities [t]. These severities were scarcely qualified by any semblance of mercy. Enemies to the Roman Church, voluntarily seeking reconciliation with her, were to be removed from the place of their former abode, if any suspicion of heresy attached to it; to be stationed in some place not so suspected; to wear two crosses of a different colour to that of their clothes, one on their right side, the other on their left; and to be rendered incapable of holding any office, unless by the especial favour of the Pope, or of his legate *a latere* [u]. Heretics recanting from the fear of death, or from any other evident compulsion, were to be retained in custody as penitents, and if they had been possessed of property, they were only so far to recover it, as to be supplied from it with necessaries, under the bishop's direction [x]. The following canons enacted by this legatine council may be termed preventive. All persons, both male and female, having attained the age of fourteen, were to be called upon to abjure every heresy raising itself against the Roman Church, swearing at the same time, that they would ever maintain the faith of that Church, persecute heretics to their power, and discover them with good faith [y]. This oath was

[t] Conc. Tol. can. ix.

[u] Ibid. can. x.

[x] Ibid. can. xi.

[y] "Hæreticos pro viribus persequentur, et eos bona fide manifestabunt." Ibid. can. xii.

to be administered at the end of every two years; and that none might elude it, a register was to be prepared containing the names of all the residents in every parish. Any absentee at the time of this triennial swearing, who should not take the oath within fifteen days of his return home, was to be considered as suspected of heresy. Clergymen were to ascertain, from an inspection of these parochial registers, whether all their parishioners confessed and communicated thrice in a year. Those who should be found to have neglected these things were to be considered as suspected of heresy[z]. But the most judicious measure of precaution was the passing of a canon which could not be obeyed without reducing the whole population within a few years to a state of stupid ignorance as to religious truth. It was enacted, that laymen should not be permitted to possess either the Old, or the New Testament. Any devout persons might, however, be indulged with a psalter, the breviary, or the hours of the Virgin. But it was most strictly enjoined, that even these books should not be in the vulgar tongue[a].

Such were the canonical sanctions, following closely upon a sanguinary war, undertaken under the name of religion, which established Popery in

[z] Conc. Tol. can. xiii.

[a] "Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere: nisi forte psalterium, vel breviarium, pro divinis officiis, aut horas beatæ Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit. *Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus.*" Ibid. can. xiv.

southern France. Other councils in that unhappy country imitated the example set them at Toulouse, and the various acts of atrocious intolerance prescribed in these assemblies, together with the thick night of spiritual blindness which was industriously spread over the land, at length induced a general belief in a once enlightened population, that the denial of principles unknown to Scripture, and to the primitive Church was properly branded with the odious name of heresy. While this iniquitous policy was running its hateful course in France, a similar spirit of persecution extended itself to Germany. The thirteenth century saw the Roman Church attain the summit of her political pretensions, and it also saw the religion which she teaches moulded very nearly into its actual form. Upon the banks of the Rhine, as elsewhere, arose a violent opposition to the claims of the papal see, and the principles of the Roman religion. A Dominican friar was, in consequence, despatched, under pontifical authority, to that region, in 1232, and in the following year this agent was enabled, at an assembly of prelates and princes, holden at Mentz, to commence a sanguinary persecution. Innumerable heretics, as these enemies to Popery are called, were immediately committed to the flames, not only around the city in which their tenets had been formally condemned,

[b] As that of Narbonne, holden under the archbishops of three provinces, in 1235; that of Beziers, under the archbishop of Narbonne only, in 1246; and that of Alby, under the bishop of Avignon, many prelates of southern France being present, in 1254.

but also in other parts of Germany[c]. These victims, were, probably, far from uniform in their religious opinions. But heresy was now defined in such a manner as to leave none of them any room for escape[d]. "All are heretics," we are informed, "who believe and preach respecting the sacraments, otherwise than does the Church of Rome; all too, who believe not that the Roman Church is the head and mistress of all churches; and who deny that my Lord the Pope is the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar upon earth of Jesus Christ[e]." In unison with this received standard of heresy, accordingly, were the decisions of Archbishop Courtenay, and his coadjutors when called upon to examine the doctrines of Wickliffe, in 1382. These distinguished and learned persons[f] condemned ten propositions attributed to

[c] "Circa Rhenum, *inquit* (Schafnaburgensis continuator anonymus,) innumerabiles hæretici, per Magistrum Conradum de Marburg, autoritate Apostolica examinati, ac per sententiam sæcularem damnati, igne combusti sunt.—*Addit*: hoc anno hæreticorum innumera multitudo per totam Alemanniam igne cremata est: multoque plures hæresim abjuraverunt." Labb. et Coss. xi. 478.

[d] This annunciation forms a part of the fifteenth, among the constitutions given to the Church of Nicosia, in Cyprus, an island then under Latin dominion, but chiefly occupied by a Greek population, to whom such a canon was at once unjust and insulting. The date of these constitutions is not precisely ascertained, but they seem referable, from internal evidence, to the latter part of the thirteenth century. Labb. et Coss. xi. 2379.

[e] This committee consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, six diocesan bishops, and one suffragan, twenty-one friars, a Benedictine monk, the warden of Merton-college, Oxford, and fourteen doctors of laws, of whom three were dignitaries in the

the Reformer, as heretical, and repugnant to the determination of the Church. They condemned also fourteen propositions maintained by him, according to general opinion, as erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the Church. Of the ten propositions first named, three contain a denial of the corporal presence, and transubstantiation. All these are pronounced heretical, upon the sole authority of papal decretals. Another proposition, declaring auricular confession useless, where genuine contrition exists, is merely characterised as heretical, without the allegation of any authority. The same treatment is given to a proposition asserting that Christ, in the Gospel, did not ordain the mass. Another proposition relates to the Godhead, and the remaining four to the Pope, and the Romish clergy. Of these, as they stand, the first is absurd and offensive, the others are obscure. They are all condemned as heretical, without the assignment of any reason [f]. Thus were opinions, not in any manner intended to contravene the Nicene faith, but only prejudicial to the Pope, to the Romish clergy, and to some unwritten traditions, formally denounced

Church, one, who appears to have acted as notary, was a parochial incumbent, and ten were, probably, mere civilians. Labb. et Coss. xi. 2054.

[f] The whole of these propositions, with the answers to them, may be seen in Labbe and Cossart's Councils; (*ubi supra*) translations of the propositions may be seen, in Lewis's Life of Wickliffe (Oxf. 1820. p. 107) and in Collier's Eccl. Hist. (i. 573) together with some of the answers. Some of the passages referred to as contained in decretals are among the canons of the fourth council of Lateran.

as heresies by high authorities in the English Church. The decision of these individuals was ratified shortly afterwards by the legislature. The statute against Lollardy, passed in the year 1400, rendered it penal to preach, hold, teach, or publish in writing any thing "contrary to the Catholic faith, *or determination of holy Church*[g]." The principle of condemning as heretical other tenets besides the Catholic faith, was adopted by the council of Constance, in 1415. That body then condemned forty-five articles attributed to Wickliffe, not one of which impugns the doctrines of the first four general councils, and the majority of which are mere attacks upon the Roman pontiff, and hierarchy. Of these articles, however, several are pronounced heretical. Others are characterised as false, ill-sounding to pious ears, offensive, seditious, abominable, or diabolical[h]. Still farther did the

[g] Collier, i. 614.

[h] The learned Jesuits, who edited the councils, have merely printed the propositions attributed to Wickliffe, and condemned at Constance, with the preamble. This last, however, is loose, and even plainly false; for it charges Wickliffe with maintaining and teaching doctrines against the Catholic faith: which notoriously he never did. His attacks were levelled against what the Constantine fathers appear to have termed "the Christian religion;" in other words, against popery. But all his attacks against this system cannot be termed heretical by any man of common accuracy, however prejudiced. Lenfant, the laborious and able historian of the council of Constance, has supplied from a manuscript at Leipsic, a short censure upon the forty-five articles attributed to Wickliffe, and read before the council when it condemned them. This censure informs us of the particular view

Constantine assembly carry the principle of exterminating as heretics those who opposed the Roman Church, in its flagitious treatment of the Bohemian martyrs. Thirty propositions, drawn from the works of Huss, were condemned in a confused and general manner, as being, many of them erroneous, others scandalous, some offensive to pious ears, several of them rash and seditious, and others notoriously heretical[1]. These articles, however, though upon the whole, crude, vague, and obscure, are not at variance with the fundamental principles of Christian belief. Nor had Huss abandoned the bulk of those religious principles peculiar to Romanism which are purely theological. He was a reader and an admirer of Wickliffe; and he would not admit the justice of the condemnation which the council had levelled against the works of that illustrious Englishman. But he fell far short of him in his ideas of religious reform. Huss held transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, purgatory, the guarded veneration of images, the necessity of auricular confession,

taken, as to the character of each article, and of the grounds alleged for its condemnation. In commenting upon this document, M. Lenfant says that he has not succeeded in finding the absurd and offensive article, "God ought to obey the devil," condemned as one of Wickliffe's heresies, both under Abp. Courtenay, and at Constance, either in the answer of Thomas of Walden, or in the work of another contemporary controversialist. No doubt, in fact, this charge is a calumny, and as such it was treated by Wickliffe himself, shortly after Courtenay and his coadjutors had condemned him. Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Const. Amst. 1727. i. 209. Lewis, Life of Wickliffe, 117.

[1] Labb. et Coss. xi. 128.

the seven sacraments, and the propriety of deferring to tradition in matters of faith [k]. But he was resolutely opposed to the extravagant pretensions of the Roman see, and to the intolerable corruptions of the ecclesiastical order. He thus gave effect to those complaints against the dominant Church which resounded from one side of Europe to the other, and he likewise impeded the Papacy in completing the subjugation of Bohemia. That country was in the ninth century converted to Christianity by two Greek monks, and hence the people were taught to oppose, from the very beginning of their entrance into the Church, the encroaching spirit of the Roman see [l]. Their spiritual instructors provided them, as they were in duty bound, with a liturgy and the Bible in their native Sclavonic. Nor did the Roman bishops, who laudably promoted the labours of the Greek missionaries, venture to disapprove their conduct in supplying their converts with a service that they could understand. John VIII. however, true to the policy of his see, stipulated, in 880, that the Gospel should be read in Latin, before it was read in Sclavonic [m]. This stipulation which, probably, passed at the time for nothing more than a reasonable compliment to the most illustrious see in Christendom, was, as usual with every concession made to the Papacy, diligently and artfully improved. Romish emissaries and partizans inculcated

[k] Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Const. i. 414. *et sequ.*

[l] Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Basle. Utr. 1731, i. p. 2.

[m] Bona, de Reb. Liturg. 58.

upon every opportunity, the propriety of adopting the whole Latin ritual. In the eleventh century, a legate, authorised by Alexander II. persuaded a national synod to mock the people by introducing this foreign liturgy. But the Bohemians generally resisted this unscriptural, unpatriotic, and debasing innovation. Their sovereign, accordingly, wrote to Rome, in the hope, that the reigning Pope would rescind the obnoxious canon which Alexander's legate had succeeded in obtaining from the national authorities. But Hildebrand then wore the triple crown, and he was no maker of concessions. He wrote in reply to the Bohemian prince: "We can by no means assent to your petition for the celebration of divine offices in Sclavonic. We prohibit you, by the authority of St. Peter, to suffer nothing of the kind, and we enjoin you, for the honour of Almighty God, to resist this vain temerity, with all your might[n]." The people, however, continued unwil-

[n] "Quia nobilitas tua postulavit, quod secundum Sclavonicam linguam apud vos divinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquam posse favere. *Et paulo post:* unde ne fiat auctoritate B. Petri inhibemus; teque ad honorem Omnipotentis Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus." As a ground for this prohibition, Gregory mentions the occasional obscurity of Scripture, which he attributes to a Divine providence, lest holy things, being level to ordinary capacities, should fall into contempt, and even lead persons of slender judgment into error. (Labb. et Coss. x. 234.) But this is mere trifling at best. For the principle which the Pontiff thus recommends had as yet scarcely come into operation at Rome itself. The lower inhabitants of that city must in his days have been able to understand their Liturgy in a considerable degree;

ling to renounce a service to which they were used, and which they understood. New arguments in favour of their opposition were supplied by a band of Waldensian refugees, which arrived among them, in 1176 [o]. At length, the gross impolicy of obstinately running counter to the tide of popular feeling in Bohemia, was fully seen at Rome, and Innocent IV. accordingly authorised once more the use of the Sclavonic service [p]. The Romish party ceased not, however, to labour for the ascendancy; and as the national Church gradually acquired enormous wealth, individuals who found, or who considered this abundance open to their professional exertions, were commonly disposed to range themselves upon the papal side. In lower life this accommodating spirit naturally prevailed much less extensively, and thus a struggle against the Popedom constantly agitated, more or less, the face of Bohemian society. That country had, in fact, never owned a full obedience to the Roman bishops, and it was less likely than before, thus to yield, after the works of Wickliffe, and the exertions of Huss, both in the pulpit, and the study, had infused fresh vigour into an inveterate habit of opposition. It was also to a politic anxiety for the complete ecclesiastical subjugation of Bohemia, that the atrocious murder of Jerome of Prague must be attributed. That able scholar was

and at no great distance of time, they had spoken vernacularly the language in which it is composed.

[o] Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Basle, i. 11.

[p] Ibid. This was about the middle of the thirteenth century.

not even a clergyman, nor does it appear that he had written any controversial work. He held also transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the Church's right to grant indulgences, though he denied her power to sell them. But he refused to admit that either Wickliffe, or Huss had been justly condemned; and he was steadily opposed to the papal pretensions, and to the corruptions of the Romish priesthood[q]. He was, therefore, a serious obstacle to the designs of Rome over his native country. Hence he was mercilessly sacrificed, and this inhumanity was committed, it should be remembered, not by a band of obscure inquisitors, or by some provincial authorities, or even by an exasperated Pope: it was the deliberate act of a numerous, and on several accounts, of a respectable body, bearing the character of a general council, and looked up to through Europe as undeniably uttering the voice of the Roman Church. This assembly then, by consigning to the flames men holding the opinions of Huss and Jerome, plainly sanctioned the principle of exterminating all who should raise the standard of opposition against the Roman see.

That see is, in fact, an ecclesiastical despotism, which has won its way to empire, like other despotisms, by means of policy, fraud, and violence. Like other usurpations too, it must trust, and it ever has trusted, to the same means for its maintenance. Its pretensions were thus fully and authentically developed by the council of Florence, in 1439: "We de-

[q] Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Const. i. 545, *et sequ.*

fine, that the holy Apostolical see, and the Roman pontiff, hold the primacy over the whole globe; and that the Roman pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in St. Peter, the full power has been delivered, from our Lord Jesus Christ, of feeding, ruling, and directing the universal Church[r]." Never did eastern

[r] An incomplete translation from this canon, supplied by Mr. Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, has been already given in the Introduction to this work, (i. 155.) The following is the whole piece in its original: "Item, diffinimus sanctam Apostolicam sedem, et Romanum pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum pontificem Romanum successorem esse B. Petri, principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere: et ipsi, in B. Petro, pascendi, regendi, ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis œcumenicorum conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur." (Labb. et Coss. xiii. 515.) These extravagant and offensive pretensions of the Roman see were again advanced in 1512, with the approbation of that body, by the fifth council of Lateran, which is styled *general* by Romanists. Charles VII. king of France, at an assembly of his nobles and prelacy, holden at Bourges, in 1438, established a code of ecclesiastical law, chiefly levelled against the encroachments of Rome. This legislative arrangement was founded upon one of a similar character, enacted under Lewis IX. or St. Lewis, in Romish language. It is known in history as the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or *a statute for the direction of practice*, in ecclesiastical affairs, namely. The papal court was indefatigable in its endeavours to obtain the abrogation of this wise and constitutional ordonnance. The fifth Lateran council represents it as "a human tradition

sultan announce his relationship to the sun and moon in the company of pretensions more arrogant, groundless, and insufferable. Even the milder spirits are, however, won over to approve these pretensions by an assurance, that without the Roman Church salvation will be sought in vain. It is obvious, that if this assertion be securely founded, mere humanity obliges temporal authorities to retain their subjects under the Pontiff's guidance. Nor in such a case would legislators be blameable in using even considerable severity to check a disposition for revolt from Rome. A confidence in the Divine justice will induce the belief, that all within the reach of a Church, entrusted exclusively with the means of grace, are intended to enter within her pale; and human laws, in rigorously enforcing conformity to her injunctions, will only seem duly to further the designs of Providence, by the employment of a just

preferred to the laws of Christ," and the Pope as a personage "holding upon earth the place of the Eternal King, the Creator of all things and rights." *(Romanus tamen pontifex, qui Regis Æterni rerumque et jurium omnium conditoris, licet imparibus meritis, tenet in terris.)* After these announcements it will naturally be supposed that the council would find no difficulty in declaring the Pragmatic Sanction invalid, as having been established by no competent authority. Thus, accordingly, speak the Lateran fathers: "*Cum Sanctio ipsa ab omni ad id potestate carentibus, nullorumque Romanorum pontificum aut generalium legitimorum conciliorum auctoritate facta.*" (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 98. Lenfant. Conc. Bas. ii. 13.) Such is the mode in which the Roman Church authentically speaks respecting the manner in which an independent kingdom constitutionally regulated its own ecclesiastical establishment.

constraint. That all within the sound of her voice are, in fact, bound to obey the Roman Church, is unequivocally asserted by the last of her general councils. The Trentine fathers pronounced that baptism administered, even by heretics, is valid[s]; that baptized persons are bound to obey all precepts of the Church, whether scriptural or traditional[t]; and that they may be coerced into a Christian life by other penalties besides an exclusion from the sacraments[u]. The nature of these other penalties is sufficiently manifest from the canons and the history of the Roman Church. Extermination is denounced against all subjects who refuse to hear her voice, dethronement against all such princes.

Hateful as such intolerance may appear, it has been recently alleged, that those who reformed the Anglican Church, fell very little, if any thing, short of it. They too, we are told, announced an inten-

[s] "Si quis dixerit, baptismum, qui etiam datur ab hæreticis, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cum intentione faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, non esse verum baptismum, anathema sit." Labb. et Coss. xix. 778. Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. can. iv.

[t] "Si quis dixerit, baptizatos liberos esse ab omnibus sanctæ Ecclesiæ præceptis, quæ vel scripta, vel tradita sunt; ita ut ea observare non teneantur, nisi de sua sponte illis submittere voluerint, anathema sit." Ibid. can. viii.

[u] "Si quis dixerit hujusmodi parvulos baptizatos, cum adoleverint, interrogandos esse, an ratum habere velint quod patrini eorum nomine, dum baptizarentur, polliciti sunt; et ubi se nolle responderint, suo esse arbitrio relinquendos, nec alia interim pœna ad Christianam vitam esse cogendos, nisi ab Eucharistiæ, aliorumque sacramentorum perceptione arceantur, donec resipiscant, anathema sit." Ibid. can. xiv.

tion of burning all who should hold religious opinions at variance with their own; and it was only in consequence of King Edward's early death that Romanists expired not amidst the flames to which Mary's administration consigned their opponents [x]. In proof

[x] "It might perhaps have been expected, that the Reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII. would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary: they had no sooner obtained the ascendancy, during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the Anabaptist, and preparing to burn the Catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death; the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of Archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline, which he compiled for the government of the reformed Church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulged by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon-law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy: and it was ordained, that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts; should be excommunicated on conviction; and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate to suffer the punishment provided by law. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the Legislature: by the accession of Mary, the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of another; *and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.*" (Lingard, vii. 257.) The drift of this passage appears to be, that Cranmer and

of this assertion we are referred to the body of canons prepared by a committee within a short time of the late King's demise; but never approved, nor probably considered even, by the government [y]. In

his brother commissioners intended to burn all persons holding transubstantiation, the papal supremacy, and the Romish doctrine of justification. In Dr. Lingard's *Vindication of certain Passages in the fourth and fifth Volumes of the History of England* (third edit. Lond. 1826, p. 94), he seems to exult over this passage of his work, saying sarcastically of the charge brought in it against Archbishop Cranmer: "It was certainly an awkward discovery." Mr. Butler (Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 208,) has given additional currency to Dr. Lingard's "discovery;" but as he has merely echoed his words, another citation is unnecessary.

[y] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 706. The following note is appended by Dr. Lingard to the passage cited above; "If the reader be inclined to dispute the accuracy of this statement, let him consult the work in question (*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*) under the title *de Hæresibus*, c. 1, 7, 19, 21, and the title *de Judiciis contra hær.* c. 1, 2, 3, 4." Mr. Butler has merely supported his statement by copying the references contained in this note of Dr. Lingard's. Of these references, *De Hær.* c. 1, declares that "heretics are those who receive any article of our common faith otherwise than it has been determined in Holy Scripture, and who thus remain in their error that they will not by any means suffer themselves to be removed from it. *Hæreticos statuimus omnes, quicunque communis nostræ fidei decretum aliquod secus accipiunt quam Sacra Scriptura determinatum est, et in errore sic habitant, ut omnino se non sinant ab illo removeri.*" (Ref. Leg. Eccl. Lond. 1640. p. 8.) The chapter proceeds to declare that defenders of errors are to be made answerable for them, as well as their original authors; and it concludes by saying, that persons who abandon heresies are not to be placed in the number of heretics. None, therefore, are to be treated as heretics, according to this canon, who do

the first chapter of that work is read, indeed, the following passage: "We will and enjoin all persons

not obstinately dogmatise against "our common faith," that is to say, the Nicene faith, which is professed in common by the Eastern and the Western Churches, by the Romanist and the Protestant. That such is the meaning of the phrase, is not only obvious upon the face of it, but it is also proved from the 5th chapter of the first title, *De Sum. Trin. et Fid. Cath.* which pronounces the three creeds "summaries of our faith. *Et quoniam omnia ferme, quæ ad fidem spectant Catholicam, tum quoad beatissimam Trinitatem, tum quoad mysteria nostræ redemptionis, tribus symbolis, hoc est, Apostolico, Niceno, et Athanasii breviter continentur: idcirco ista tria symbola, ut fidei nostræ compendia quædam, recipimus et amplectimur.*" The same view of the faith is taken in other chapters under the first title. In the 13th, it is said, that "the chief articles of the Faith, are shortly comprehended in the Creeds." The next assigns an especial degree of reverence to the first four general councils, and speaks very respectfully of what other councils have determined as to the Trinity, and the Saviour, but it adds, "these assemblies are not to bind *our faith,* farther than they can be confirmed by Scripture." The 16th chapter mentions the doctrines respecting the Trinity, and Christ's person, and satisfaction, as the principal points to be believed in the Catholic faith. The last chapter under this title, asserts that all will miserably perish "who refuse to embrace the Orthodox Catholic faith." What that phrase means is evident from the whole of this section, and from the decrees of the first four general councils, to which it refers with so much veneration. The first chapter therefore, under the next title, which Dr. Lingard has mentioned at the head of his references, is an evident contradiction to the charge which he has ventured to draw from it against the venerable Reformers of his country's religion. The 7th chapter relates to original sin, free will, and justification. It reprobates the "error" of Pelagians and Anabaptists as to the first of these things. It says, "that we must go against those, *contra illos progrediendum est,*" who

within our jurisdiction to accept and profess the Christian religion. Against which, none can employ

maintain the sufficiency of man's will for the complete correction of his life. And it adds, that they are not to be heard who impiously oppose the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith alone. The 19th chapter, which is of unusual length, pronounces transubstantiation "a most dangerous error, a dream from the dregs of Popery, *Papisticæ fæcis somnium*, a fiction, an absurd doctrine, a thing foreign and strange to Scripture, contrary to the truth of Christ's humanity, much at variance with the nature of sacraments, *a conditione sacramentorum longe dissidens*; and finally, a sort of common sink of many of the superstitions which have been brought into God's Church, *communis quædam sentina superstitionum multarum in Ecclesiam Dei comportatarum*. The 21st ch. designates the doctrine, that the Roman Church neither has erred, nor can err, as "a madness to be restrained by legal chains, *insania legum vinculis constringenda*." It also says, "theirs is an *intolerable error* who will have the universal Church of the whole Christian world to be contained in the principality of the Roman bishop alone: *illorum etiam intolerabilis est error, qui totius Christiani orbis universam Ecclesiam solius episcopi Romani principatu contineri volunt*." Thus, in truth, the Romish doctrines of transubstantiation, justification, and the papal supremacy are not only exempted from the penalties of heresy "in the new canon law of the metropolitan," because they will not come within the definition of that crime previously given in that code; but they are also expressly characterised as falling something short of heresies. The first is designated as an impious opposition to Scripture; the second as a most dangerous error, &c.; the third as a madness, and an intolerable error. This last, undoubtedly, is described as an object for legal coercion: which is reasonable enough; for Popes, in those days, made a shew of exercising the power to dethrone sovereigns, and to release subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The remainder of Dr. Lingard's references need no notice, as they merely cite chapters relating to judgments against heresies;

any thoughts or actions, without estranging God from them by their impiety. We, therefore, as ministers of the Divine Majesty, determine that such as may be guilty of this enormous wickedness shall be put to death, and forfeit all their property." The remainder of this section shews, that "the Christian religion" was understood to mean those fundamental doctrines which were drawn from Scripture by the first four general councils, and which are embodied in the three Creeds. This denunciation, therefore, in effect, merely amounts to an approval of the sanguinary punishment provided for repressing heresy by the common law of England. The second section is entitled *Concerning Heresies*, and it reprobates, in various ways, a variety of religious opinions; some of the tenets peculiar to the Roman Church being included in the number. Among these a belief in the papal supremacy is especially pointed out as an error demanding legal interference. The section closes with a solemn obtestation to all the faithful, that they would keep themselves, as far as possible, from "these most pestilent opinions;" and the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, are vehemently urged, in the King's name, that as far as in them lies, they take care thoroughly to pluck up and extirpate these heresies from the realm. To this whole division attaches, undoubtedly, the charge of intolerance; because it offers incentives for the employment of coercive mea-

and it does not appear that it was intended, by means of such judgments, to consign Romanists to the flames.

sures against dissenters from the state religion. It should, however, be recollected, that liberty of conscience was a principle of which European legislators had not learned the justice and the policy, when England emancipated herself from Rome. Perhaps, indeed, a mere toleration would not have contented any of the depressed religious parties; their object being rather to supplant the national establishment, than to remain merely protected by its side. But if it were intended to confer exclusive possession upon any one system of religion, its operations, obviously, must be aided by means of penalties. Hence the commissioners for preparing a new body of canon-law, calculated upon such an assistance for their party. But the details and extent of this penal aid were necessarily left for parliamentary consideration. That an expectation, or even a desire was entertained in any quarter, of seeing capital penalties awarded against the holders of all those opinions which are classed in the *Reformatio Legum* among heresies, there is neither evidence nor probability. The section which places Romish tenets among heretical opinions, does the same with the fanatical conceit of those who hold the impeccability of such as are justified, and also with certain mischievous conclusions, elicited from the doctrine of predestination, as well as with other less important shades of erroneous doctrine. It is unreasonable to suppose, in the absence of all proof to that effect, and in the face of many circumstances enforcing an opposite conviction, that King Edward's commissioners, in classing among heresies

numerous opinions, at variance with their own, intended the holders of them all to be treated as capital criminals. It is rather to be concluded from their work, that they desired this penalty to be reserved for obstinate opponents of the Christian religion, and for wilful blasphemers. Offenders of the latter kind, were devoted, they observe, to an ignominious death under the Mosaic law [z]. The civil law was equally severe upon the crime of blasphemy [a]. The commissioners, therefore, followed important and venerable precedents in their denunciations of extreme penalties. As for the less offensive errors reprobated in their production, they trusted, probably, that a zealous and enlightened clergy would in time eradicate the most of them. Against such among them as menaced seriously the public morals and tranquillity they desired, unquestionably, that repressive measures apportioned to the evil should be provided by the legislature. This desire may be condemned in the present age, perhaps justly, as illiberal and intolerant; but it extended not to an intention of burning mere Romanists; and therefore, it is by no means upon a par with the atrocities of Queen Mary's reign, when pious, able, and excellent men, holding firmly, and even zealously, every article of the Catholic faith, were mercilessly committed to the flames, because they would not receive articles of faith upon asser-

[z] Lev. xxiv. 16.

[a] Novel. 77. Rees's Cyclopædia. Art. Blasphemy.

tion only, and bow their necks to the yoke of an Italian usurper.

Between thirty and forty persons resolute in professing religion upon these safe and patriotic grounds were assembled to pray and receive the Holy Communion, at a house in Bow-church-yard, on the evening of New-Year's day. Their minister was Thomas Rose, a native of Devonshire, but settled in Suffolk, in the early part of his clerical life. He there had the happiness to see, at the dawn of his country's emancipation from her papal trammels, the folly, danger, and impiety of an unscriptural faith. Being a zealous preacher, he warmed extensively the hearts of those around him with a just abhorrence of the grovelling superstitions upon which ignorant Romanists naturally bestow the name of religion. Among the wretched fooleries with which the long continuance of debasing errors had infected his neighbourhood, was a popular belief in miraculous powers attributed to a rood at Dover Court, in Essex. The church in which this idol stood was open night and day, and the stupid rumour went that no mortal strength could shut the door. Grieved and indignant at such a mischievous delusion, four of Rose's hearers determined upon destroying the far-famed image. On a bright, frosty night in 1532, they went out from Dedham to Dover Court, and carried from that place the rood, its dress, and the tapers burning before it, but no other property. The tapers they used in consuming the idol by fire on their way homewards; the vest they

gave to Rose, who burnt it; the shoes were kept, it seems, by one of the party. For this rash and unwarrantable act three of these men lost their lives as felons, upon a gibbet, and great pains were vainly taken to prove Rose's participation in their enterprise[b]. This attempt failed, but Rose was imprisoned and subjected to very cruel usage. By Cranmer's means he was restored to liberty, and he became soon afterwards chaplain to Cromwell. The act of Six Articles again placed his life in jeopardy, and he took refuge in Switzerland. Having returned home, upon his private affairs, before King Henry's death, he remained in England, commonly concealed, and under considerable difficulties, until that event occurred. Under King Edward he was presented by the crown to the vicarage of West Ham in Essex; a preferment which he held until deprived of it in the present reign. Since the loss of his living, he had exercised his ministry secretly in private houses in London, abstaining, as it appears, altogether, or for the most part, from preaching, (probably as being unlicenced for that purpose) but reading, and administering the Eucharist. His congregation seems to have met in the evening, and frequently before its separation a collection was made for the relief of those enlightened Christians who were suffering in dungeons because they would not adulterate the pure Catholic faith with man's interested traditions. For these virtuous prisoners was often collected, in a single evening, not less than ten pounds, a sum by

[b] Foxe, 940.

no means inconsiderable in those days. On the evening in which Rose and his friends were surprised at their devotions, treachery guided the myrmidons of persecution to their place of meeting. The congregation, in which were individuals of both sexes, was distributed between the two counters. Their pastor was conducted to Bishop Gardiner's residence, in Southwark. The Chancellor, however, did not see him on that evening, and accordingly he was committed to the Clink, a miserable prison in that part of the town. On the following Thursday, being the third of January, he was brought before Gardiner, in the church of St. Mary Overy, and he thus addressed him. "It maketh me to marvel, my Lord, that I should be troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, by the laws of this realm allowed, and by your own book *De Vera Obedientia* so notably confirmed." Wincing under the severity of this just rebuke, the Bishop could merely find words to say: "Ah, Sirrah, hast thou gotten that?" Rose caustically answered; "Yea, my Lord, I thank God; and I do confess myself much confirmed thereby. For, as touching the Bishop of Rome's usurped supremacy, no man hath said farther than your Lordship. And as I remember, you confess in this your book that when the truth was revealed unto you, it seemed as if scales had fallen from your eyes." This castigation completely overset Gardiner's patience, and he thus allowed his anger vent: "Thou liest like a varlet: there is no such thing in my book. I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have

long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer." The prisoner coolly said, "My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more; albeit that the law is in your hand: I have God for my maintainer, and none other." One of the Chancellor's people stepping forward, then said: "In King Edward's time, my Lord, I heard this man preach at Sir John Robster's, in Norwich, and he prayed, before his sermon, that God would either turn the heart of our present queen, or take her out of the world." Rose answered, "My Lord, I made no such prayer, as I have already testified under mine own hand-writing unto the council. My words were these: 'Ye shall pray for the Lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws, and so render unto him her heart, purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good ensample of the inferior subjects.'" As Gardiner could scarcely fail to be ac-

[c] It is evident from this passage, that some of Rose's calumniators had charged him with uttering an indecent prayer respecting Mary, during her brother's reign, and that he had vindicated himself from this aspersion in a memorial presented to the council. Dr. Lingard, however, says, "On the eve of the new year, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards midnight, administered the communion, *and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the Queen, or take her out of the world.*" (vii. 262.) For this account no voucher is adduced. But it is followed by a statement, which seems as if intended for an authority, that an act was passed soon

quainted with Rose's address to the council, and as the memorialist was before him ready to substantiate its allegations, he merely noticed his explanation by

after, making it treason to pray for the Queen's death. It should be added, that Dr. Lingard introduces his unauthenticated imputation upon Rose, in the following manner: "While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by this dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement by the intemperance of their zeal." What mere reader of the new Romish history would suppose that "the dutiful address," here mentioned, and even partly copied, is dated May 8, 1554; being in fact the piece prepared by Bishop Hooper, and others, when they formally declined to dispute at Cambridge? The truth is, that Dr. Lingard appears to have confounded this address with another, far less "dutiful," which is printed by Strype, in his Appendix to the Memorials of Cranmer, (959) and which was, probably, drawn up about this time. This paper treats popery as heinous idolatry, the restoration of which may be justly expected to bring down God's wrath upon the nation. It states, that the religion established under the last two sovereigns, was not only the fruit of long and able deliberation, but that also it was very favourably received by the nation: "So that there was not one parish in all England, that ever desired again to have the Romish superstitions, and vain service, which is now by the popish, proud, covetous clergy placed again, in contempt not only of God, all heaven and all the Holy Ghost's lessons in the blessed Bible, but also against the honours of the said two most noble kings, against your own country, fore agreements, and all the godly consciences within this realm of England and elsewhere." The address concludes by pledging the subscribers to prove, at the peril of their lives by fire, or by any other death, however ignominious, that the service and homilies set forth under King Edward are true according to the Catholic and canonical rules of Christ's religion; and that the Romish service is contrary to the same. This piece, which is any thing rather than crouching and conciliatory, is addressed to their Majesties and the Parliament, but it bears no subscriptions.

making some slight remarks. He then turned to some of those about him, and said; "This is the man of whom I was told by my Lord of Norwich, that he had gotten his maid with child." Rose answered this unworthy reflection in the following terms: "This is no heresy, my Lord, though it be a lie. Some wicked persons did, indeed, raise this report of me for the hatred which they bare to my doctrine. But for my purgation therein I had the hands of no less than six of the council appointing that a due and diligent examination of this matter might be made in the country by men of worship, named for that purpose. These men, my Lord, can all testify, thank God, that I am clear from such wickedness, and indeed they have cleared me from it. I doubt not, therefore, that in this report all men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries; who, when other ways had failed, thus went about to draw me into discredit and hatred." So much readiness and propriety of retort on the prisoner's part, appears to have convinced Gardiner that he had undertaken a hopeless and vexatious task. He therefore ordered, at once, that the aged minister should be conveyed to the Tower, and seeing him there, after an interval of some months, he held some little conversation with him in a friendly manner. Sir Richard Southwell, however, still charged him with having mentioned improperly the present Queen in his prayers, during Edward's reign; saying that he made a difference between her and the Lady Elizabeth, by praying as to the latter, that God would graciously confirm that which was well begun

in her. Of this captious charge, Gardiner wisely took but little notice, and Rose was shortly afterwards carried into Norfolk, for examination as a heretic, before the Bishop of Norwich. He then defended himself, as having taught nothing but that which he was allowed to teach by law, and he declared, that since the preaching of such doctrine had been made unlawful, he had abstained from preaching. As a confirmation of this assertion he referred to the mandate of the council, under which he was examined, and which did not charge him with unlawful preaching. After two other examinations, in which, amidst declarations of his willingness to die for the truth, he protested and disputed against the corrupt innovations of popery; the Bishop of Norwich begged Sir William Woodhouse to receive him into his house. The knight assented, but upon condition that he was not to be considered as a gaolor, and therefore to be answerable for his guest's appearance. At his advice, Rose soon afterwards clandestinely withdrew, and, with some difficulty, made his escape to the Continent, where he continued until Queen Mary's death [d].

[d] From Rose's own relation. Foxe, 1891. After Rose left the house of Sir William Woodhouse, a considerable shew of seeking for him was made, which naturally gave to himself and his friends some trouble and uneasiness. But from the manner in which the Bishop of Norwich disposed of him, there can be little doubt that the ruling powers were willing to connive at his escape. Had he been surprised, however, immediately after the utterance of such a prayer as Dr. Lingard attributes to him, it is not likely that he would have been allowed such facilities for eluding vengeance. The government would naturally have felt itself

In the hope of diverting the more unthinking minds from the horrors upon which the government was now bent, orders were issued for making great rejoicings through the country. Circulars addressed to the bishops enjoined them to cause high mass, and *Te Deum* to be sung in the several cathedrals. The object of these solemnities, was to celebrate the Pope's triumph over England in the late parliament. In order that the populace also should exult in this return to the bondage undergone by their ancestors, letters were sent to the different sheriffs, ordering them to have bonfires made in all parts of the country. For conciliating the Londoners, a display of royal and ecclesiastical pageantry was likewise devised. The King and Queen rode through the city, preceded by the Chancellor and the Legate. Before the former of these functionaries was carried the great seal, before the latter, the cross. But the scheme wholly miscarried. Even the sovereigns were generally received with sullen apathy, the loyal shout rarely rising from the crowded street. Pole's mortifications were, if possible, more galling than those of his royal friends. Seldom did the people

strongly supported by public opinion in proceeding against a man who had closed a long life of active opposition to popery, by a gross act of political indecency, to speak no worse of it. Among Rose's congregation, and perhaps among other Protestants, it appears, however, from Foxe (1346) that "evil prayers," as the martyrologist justly calls them, such as Dr. Lingard mentions, had been used. It should be recollected, in extenuation of this indecency, that the men committing it had been recently abandoned by Parliament to the horrors of a sanguinary persecution.

uncover themselves, or shew the least mark of respect to his cross, and when, as the Pope's representative, he stopped to bless the crowd, instead of kneeling devotees his eyes rested often upon open scoffers who laughed outright. Irritated and disgusted at this manifestation of popular feeling, Gardiner said from time to time to his attendants. "Mark that house. Take that knave, and have him to the counter. Who ever saw such a sort of heretics, that will neither reverence the cross of Christ, nor yet once so much as say, *God save the King and Queen!* I will teach them to do both, if I live."

From such attempts to dazzle the weaker minds by parade, and stultify them by superstition, Mary's advisers turned at once to that atrocious course of policy which has conferred immortal glory upon the Protestant religion, and left a load of infamy upon popery, which it will never shake off until the voice of history is mute. On Tuesday, the 22d of January, the Chancellor Gardiner presided in St. Mary Overy's church, at a meeting of the privy council. The bishops Hooper and Ferrar, together with Rogers, Taylor, and others, were brought before the board. Gardiner thus addressed the prisoners: "Ye are sent for hither at this time to enjoy the favour and mercy of their Majesties, the King and Queen, if only ye will now rise again with us from the fall which we have generally received in this

*. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 266. From the relation of Mountain, a London incumbent in King Edward's time, who, standing at the end of Soper Lane, Cheapside, while the procession passed, heard Gardiner use these words.

realm; and from the which, God be praised, *we* are now clearly delivered, as if by miracle. If ye will not rise with us now, and receive the mercy which is, at this present, offered unto you, ye shall have judgment according to your demerits[f]." Hooper answered, that this invitation involved an acknowledgment of the papal claims, and therefore it could not be accepted by him, inasmuch as the Pontiff had evidently shewn himself unworthy of any supremacy over Christ's Church, by his patronage of doctrines at variance with Scripture. He added, however, that if he had offended her Majesty, in any point as yet unknown to him, he humbly craved her pardon, and would gladly receive it, provided that her mercy might be had without displeasing God, and violating his own conscience[g]. Rogers met the invitation to unite himself with the Catholic Church, by saying that he never had dissented from her, and never would. When urged to acknowledge the papal claims, he said, that they were unfounded in Scripture, and unknown to the first four centuries of the Christian æra: hence he could not admit them. He was then reminded that he had admitted the supremacy of King Henry. But he answered this by saying, that he had never attributed any spiritual character to that sovereign. Being again intreated to conform, he told the bishops that he could not believe *them* sincere in their present avowed opinions, all of

[f] Letter of Dr. Rowland Taylor. Foxe, 1382. Letters of the Martyrs, 172.

[g] Foxe, 1369.

them having preached, and some of them having written upon the other side, with the consent and approbation of Parliament. "Tush," said Gardiner, "the Parliament was constrained by cruelty to put away the Bishop of Rome's primacy." Rogers answered, "By cruelty? then I perceive that you are now taking a wrong way to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How then do you expect to persuade our consciences by means of cruelty?" A desultory and confused conversation followed, in the course of which he was absurdly asked, whether he held that article in the Creed, *I believe in the holy Catholic Church?* "I do," he replied; "but I find not the Bishop of Rome there. By *Catholic Church* is not meant the Romish Church. The Catholic Church includes all churches, in all ages, which teach the truth. But the Bishop of Rome's Church cannot be one of these, because she teaches many doctrines plainly repugnant to God's Word." At length the prisoner's resolution being found invincible, he was placed aside, with an understanding that on a future day, he would be allowed another opportunity to explain himself[h].

Dr. Rowland Taylor thus met Gardiner's invitation to rise with himself, and his brother-councillors, from the recent fall: "So to rise should be the greatest fall that I could ever receive: in this way I should fall from my dear Saviour, Christ, to Anti-

[h] Foxe, 1349.

christ. For I verily believe, that the religion set forth in King Edward's days was according to the vein of holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian faith; from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by God's grace." Secretary Bourne then said, "Which of King Edward's religions do ye mean? For ye know that divers books of religion were set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a Catechism by my Lord of Canterbury. Do ye mean to stick by that?" Taylor answered, "My Lord of Canterbury put forth a Catechism in his own name, but which was not of his own making. The book was translated; and truly, for a time, it did much good. After that there was set forth by the most innocent King Edward, for whom God be praised everlastingly, the whole Church Service. Great deliberation was used therein, the best learned men of the realm gave their advice upon it, the Parliament authorised it, and the people gladly received it. This book was never reformed but once, and it was then so fully perfected in every behalf, according to the rules of our holy religion, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained. The book reformed is that of which I meant to speak." Of this matter Gardiner was naturally desirous to elude any farther notice, for he had admitted, that the first service-book was such as to satisfy his conscience[1]. He therefore asked abruptly, "Didst

[1] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 553, note. It would have been easy to shew, that this admission was not affected materially by the alterations made in the second book.

thou never read the book of the Sacrament, set forth by me?" An affirmative reply being given, he pursued: "How likest thou that book?" An obsequious councillor, who seems to have thought this an excellent opening for paying court to the chief dispenser of royal favour, immediately said, "My Lord, that is a good question, for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths." Taylor, however, answered, "My Lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's Word in that book." "Thou art a very varlet," was the author's reply. "That is as ill, my Lord, as saying to me, *Raca*, or *thou fool*[k]," rejoined the prisoner. "Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow," said Gardiner. Taylor thus met this discourtesy: "I have read through, over and over again, the Scriptures, and the works of St. Austin. I have read through once St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books. I thank God, therefore, that I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the civil law, as your Lordship did; and I have read over the canon-law likewise." The Chancellor thus received this defence: "With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things. Touching my profession, it is divinity; in which I have written divers books." The insulted prisoner very fairly retorted, "My Lord, ye did write one book, *De Vera Obedientia*: I would ye had been constant in that: for indeed you did never declare a good conscience, that I heard of, but in that one book." Gardiner's rage

[k] St. Matt. v. 22.

now becoming ungovernable, he exclaimed, "Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer, as to priests' marriages, but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years." Taylor answered, "I am indeed married, and I have had nine children, I thank God, in holy matrimony. And of this I am sure, that in your proceedings now in this realm against the marriage of priests, ye are maintaining the *doctrine of devils*[1] against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the Apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws." Bishop Tunstall then said, that, according to Justinian, men ought to swear, on taking priests' orders, that they were never married. Taylor answered, that he remembered no such law in Justinian, and he mentioned immediately some of that Emperor's constitutions, discouraging obligations to remain in celibacy. The Chancellor next demanded, how it was to be proved from God's law that priests might lawfully marry? He was answered by the citation of passages from St. Paul, which speak of bishops, priests, and deacons as married men; and it was added, "Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, *It is an heresy to deny that a bishop may be married.*" "Thou liest of Chrysostom," said Gardiner; "but thou doest, as all thy companions do, belie without shame upon all occasions both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 1. This verse, with those following it, have been commonly applied, with a great appearance of justice, to the Romish apostacy, and it is evident that Dr. Taylor so understood them.

thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may marry? The contrary of this is the truth." Taylor thus met this assertion: "We read in the decrees that the four general councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, are to have the same authority that the four Gospels have [m]. And we read in the same decrees, which are one of the chief books of the canon-law, that the Nicene council, by means of one Paphnutius, did allow the

[m] This was the judgment of Gregory the Great. Nor did Hildebrand, who took that celebrated pontiff's name, and who lived after the second council of Nice, and other such assemblies, had made important innovations in favour of the Roman see, venture to class these later bodies with the first four general councils. This appears from the following paragraph, authorised by the first council of Rome, under Gregory VII. "Sanctissimus Papa Gregorius, quem noster apostolicus nomine et actione nostris representavit temporibus, in sua synodica, id est, synodali epistola, sanctissima quatuor concilia confirmat ita: *Sicut sancti Evangelii quatuor, sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor: Nicænum scilicet, in quo perversum Arii dogma destruitur; Constantinopolitanum quoque, in quo Eunomii, et Macedonii error convincitur; Ephesinum etiam primum, in quo Nestorii impietas judicatur; Chalchedonense vero, in quo Eutychetis Dioscorique pravitas reprobatur, tota devotione amplector, integerrima approbatione custodio: quia in his, velut in quadrato lapide sanctæ fidei structura consurgit, et cujuslibet vitæ atque actionis norma consistit. Quisquis eorum soliditatem non tenet, etiamsi lapis ipse videatur, tamen extra ædificium jacet. Cunctas vero personas, quas præfata veneranda concilia respuunt, respuo; quas venerantur, amplector: quia dum universali consensu sunt constituta, se et non illa destruit, quisquis præsumit aut solvere quos religant, aut ligare quos solvunt. Quisquis ergo aliud sapit, anathema esto.* Hucusque Gregorius." Labb. et Coss. x. 316.

marriages of bishops and priests." Gardiner hastily and rudely replied: "Thou falsifiest the general council. There is express mention in the said decree, that married priests should be divorced from their wives." To this Taylor answered: "If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched [n]." The Chancellor appears to have been

[n] The canon to which Gardiner ventured to allude, stands the third in order, among the Greek canons of the first Nicene council. "Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη συνόδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ, μήτε διακόνῳ, μήτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν, ἢ ἃ μόνα πρόσωπα πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν διαπέφευγε." (Labb. et Coss. ii. 30.) The learned reader will at once see from this canon, that it does not prohibit clerical marriages, but only the having of females, known as συνείσακτοι. Now σύνείσακτος means *a person introduced together with one's self.* It was, in fact, a term used in the early part of the Christian æra, to distinguish females who itinerated with the ministers of religion; principally, it may be supposed, for the purpose of aiding them in the conversion and spiritual instruction of the softer sex. It is obvious that the practice of introducing such persons upon their evangelical missions might lead ecclesiastics into disrepute, and even into gross immorality. It was, therefore, wisely provided by the Nicene fathers, that clergymen should be restrained from using the services of such females, unless they were either their mothers, sisters, aunts, or other persons wholly beyond the reach of suspicion. Of wives, no mention is made in the canon, plainly because from their society no scandal could arise; but it is known that clergymen in that age were generally married, and we learn from Socrates and Sozomen, that an attempt to force celibacy upon them failed at the council of Nice. The increasing prevalence of ascetic notions having caused that restriction to be canvassed by the fathers, Paphnutius, an Ægyptian bishop of th[illegible]

reduced to a temporary silence by this fearless appeal, and Bishop Tunstall stepped in to his relief by

most exalted character, himself unmarried through life, warmly opposed the motion, and it was, accordingly, unanimously rejected. This passage in the ancient ecclesiastical historians is so completely against the modern Romish Church, that an attempt has been made by some of her more zealous partisans to invalidate its genuineness. Other critics, however, of the papal persuasion have admitted the unsoundness of such attempts. It should be observed, besides, respecting the Nicene canon, that it proves too much for the Romish party. The συνείσακτοι are interdicted not only to bishops, priests, and deacons, but also to the whole clerical body. Now ministers below the subdiaconate never have been restrained from marrying in the Roman Church. It may be added, that in the Nicene canons, as they stand in the Arabic, express mention is made, in that which answers to the third in the Greek text, of married clergymen, as appears from the following version of it: "Decernimus, ut episcopi non habitent cum mulieribus; neque presbyter qui *viduus* est; nec illas comitentur; neque familiarem consuetudinem cum illis habeant, nec in eas studiose aspiciant. Idem decernitur de omni sacerdote *cælibe;* idemque de diaconis, qui sive (sine *fors*) uxore sunt." (Labb. et Coss. ii. 292.) this paraphrastic form of the canon points distinctly to the principal abuse, probably, which had sprung from the employment of *synesactæ;* that of retaining them as housekeepers: a device, by which an immoral ecclesiastic might contrive to live in licentiousness, while he was all the while hypocritically pretending to humour the ascetic taste of his contemporaries. The canon, in fact, is evidently directed to no other object than the prevention of a practice always injurious to the reputation, and often to the virtue also of unmarried clergymen. To cite it, therefore, as conveying any prohibition of clerical marriages is of a piece with denying that such marriages are authorised in the New Testament, because, forsooth, no text can be brought forward which says in so many words, *ecclesiastics are freely allowed to marry.*

saying that the words to which he had referred, might be found in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, from which book the decree was taken. Taylor thus met this evasion: "It is not likely that the Pope would leave out such a sentence, making as it does so much for his purpose, if he had any such authority for it." The prisoner now appears to have cited Gratian, the father of papal canonists[o], though he has omitted the mention of any such reference in his letter: for Gardiner angrily thus addressed him: "Gratian was but a patcher; and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as makest for thy purpose." The following was Taylor's notice of this petulance: "My Lord, I cannot but marvel, that you call one of the chiefest papists that ever was, but a patcher." "Nay, I call thee a snatcher and a patcher;" said the Chancellor, rising from his seat; "And to make an end, wilt not thou return again with us unto the Catholic Church?" The prisoner firmly replied; "By God's grace I never will depart from Christ's Church." He then begged, that some of his friends should be allowed to visit him in prison. Of this request no notice appears to have been taken; but the Chancellor informed him that he should receive

[o] The passage cited from Gratian was, probably, the following one: "*Copula sacerdotalis nec Legali, nec Apostolica authoritate prohibetur; ecclesiastica tamen lege penitus interdicitur*: that is, *the marriage of priests is forbidden neither by the Mosaic, nor the Evangelical law. But for all that, 'tis by no means allowed by the constitutions of the Church.*" (Collier, *i.* 192.) Such a passage, cited from such an authority, will account intelligibly enough for Gardiner's intemperance: the excusing of it is another matter.

judgment within a week. Tunstall advised him to believe as his father and mother had done before him. "St. Austin tells us, my Lord," was the prisoner's answer, "that we ought to prefer God's Word before all men [p]."

On Monday, the 28th of January, the Chancellor Gardiner, under a legatine commission, sat judicially at St. Mary Overy's. He was assisted by the Bishops Boner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Bourn, Brookes, Holyman, Aldrich, White, Morgan, Hopton, and Bayne; the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Montague and Wharton, several other individuals of some consideration, and a large number of inferior persons being present. It seems that the prisoners brought before the court were the same that appeared before the privy council in that place a few days previously. By way of opening the business, it was set forth that these ecclesiastics having recently received an offer of the royal mercy, upon condition of their return to the Catholic Church, and having then obstinately refused it, were now to be examined upon charges of heretical pravity; but it was added, the door of reconciliation is not even yet closed upon them. It is probable, that Bishop Hooper was first put upon his defence; having again declined the proffered clemency: and "he broke out," say the acts, "into some blasphemies;" in correct language, he argued against popery. It was alleged against him, in the first place, that although a priest, and a

[p] Letter of Dr. Rowland Taylor. Foxe, 1383. Letters of the Martyrs, 172.

member of a monastic order, he had married, and maintained that the marriages of such persons were valid by God's law. "These charges," Hooper said, "are true, and I am ready to defend both my own marriage, and also what I have spoken and written respecting clerical marriages in general." Secondly, he was charged with having maintained both orally and in writing, that marriages may be legally dissolved on account of fornication and adultery, and that persons released from their nuptial engagements upon such grounds, may lawfully marry again. Hooper admitted this article, adding, that he was ready to defend it as agreeable to the laws both of God and man, against all adversaries. Thirdly, he was accused of denying transubstantiation, both orally and in writing. "I have done so," he said, "and I now affirm, that the very, natural body of Christ is not really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil [q]."

Rogers, being asked again whether he would accept the royal mercy, and be reconciled to the Catholic Church, answered, that when questioned before in that manner, he was not fully aware of what was meant. He had now, however, to reply, that he must utterly refuse the Queen's clemency, as being offered upon condition of his relapse into antichristian doctrines; and that as for being recon-

[q] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 287. From the judiciary acts. Mem. Cranm. 495.

ciled to the Catholic Church, he must again protest, that he had never departed from her, having always taught such doctrine as may be proved by Scripture, and by the writings of those fathers who lived in the first four hundred years of the Christian æra. This assertion he offered to establish; but Gardiner told him, that the Parliament had come to a conclusion different from his as to that matter, and that a private individual was not to be borne in arguing against the decisions of such an authority. "All the laws of man," said Rogers, "neither may nor can rule the Word of God. By that they must be discussed and judged, and that they must obey. Nor can my conscience, nor that of any Christian be satisfied with such laws as disagree from God's Word." Upon receiving this manly and rational answer, Gardiner uttered a vague discourse of some length, in which, with that overbearing rudeness that had so much disgraced him in the whole course of these melancholy proceedings, he charged the prisoner with ignorance, arrogance, pride, and vain-glory. "Mine ignorance," said Rogers, "is greater than I can express, or than your Lordship takes it to be. Yet I fear not, by the help of God's assistance, to be able to prove in writing that which I have affirmed. Neither am I so utterly ignorant as you would make me; thanks be rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knoweth well on which side lie pride, arrogance, and vain-glory. The pride of man is but a very poor pride, God it knoweth." Gardiner then charged the prisoner with insulting his sovereign, and

his country, by treating them as members of an antichristian Church. Rogers answered; "The Queen's Majesty, God save her Grace, would have done well enough, if it had not been for your counsel." It is to the Chancellor's credit, that he hastened to wipe away this imputation. "The Queen went before me;" said he, "it was her own motion[r]." The prisoner was, however, unwilling to

[r] There is good reason for believing this charge, so disgraceful to Mary's memory. A short time before Pole's arrival, as it seems probable from internal evidence, she drew up with her own hand a sketch for the management of ecclesiastical affairs. In this paper occurs the following passage: "Touching the punishment of heretics, me thinketh it ought to be done without rashness; not leaving in the meantime to do justice to such, as by learning would seem to deceive the simple: and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And especially within London, I would wish none to be burnt without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where good sermons at the same." (Collier ii. 371. From one of the Harleian MSS.) It is hence evident that the gloomy imagination of this ignorant and bigotted princess was dwelling upon *autos da fe*, before the Parliament had basely armed her with the power to imbrue her hands in innocent blood. Gardiner very probably might have taken some pains to restrain her infatuated eagerness for cruelty. He well knew the guilt and folly of her intentions, and he was no prey to the delusions which were practised upon her mind by means of interested or ignorant advocates of Popery. But the Bishop of Winchester was a vindictive, angry man, with possibly, some degree of bigotry towards the religious system in which he had been educated. He began the persecution, accordingly, as if he cordially liked it, and as if it had been imputable to his own sanguinary counsels. It is no wonder, therefore, if

suppose this of a female, and of one too very far from being without obligations to the Protestant party. He rejoined, accordingly, "I never can nor will believe it." Bishop Aldrich then said, "We of the prelacy will bear witness to my Lord Chancellor in this." Rogers replied sarcastically, "Yea, that I believe well." This answer occasioned a general laugh among the numerous auditory; a manifestation of popular feeling which, probably, disconcerted Gardiner, for Secretary Bourne, and another immediately stood up to corroborate Aldrich's testimony. Rogers said: "It is no great matter," and the business proceeded to its object. After a long harangue Gardiner arose, and pulling off his cap, all his brethren imitating his example, he asked the prisoner "whether he believed that the very body and blood of Christ which were born of the Virgin, and hanged upon the cross, were really and substantially present in the Sacrament?" Rogers answered; "I have often told you, my Lord, that in this matter I am no meddler: and upon that account my opinion has been therein suspected of my brethren. Notwithstanding, even as your doctrine is in other points for the most part false, and the defence thereof is only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as in the rest. For I cannot understand *really* and *substantially* to sig-

the popular voice accused him of those enormous crimes which were perpetrated while he sat at the helm of national affairs, and which have rendered his name and administration infamous to all posterity.

nify otherwise than *corporally*: but *corporally*, Christ is only in heaven. He cannot, therefore, be corporally also in your sacrament." He then went on to substantiate his charge of cruelty against the administration, by saying, that he had now lain eighteen months in confinement, the first six of which were obediently spent in his own house under an order that he should so restrain himself; and the last twelve in Newgate; and that, although subjected to great expenses, and having a wife with ten children, he had not received one penny from his preferments during that whole time. He was answered, that his preferments were given to him by Dr. Ridley, who was an usurper. Rogers immediately asked: "Was King Edward then, who gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric, an usurper?" Gardiner angrily answered, "Yea," and he then pictured the wrongs received by both himself and Boner from Edward; adding, however, that he had spoken hastily and improperly in calling him an usurper. The prisoner then enquired: "Wherefore did ye set me in prison?" The answer was: "Because thou preachedst against the Queen." "This allegation," said Rogers, "is not true. I will be bound to prove it false, and to stand to the trial at the law, that no man shall be able to prove it. I preached a sermon at the cross, after the Queen came to the Tower, but therein was nothing said against her Grace. Of this I take witness of all the audience; which was not small. Your Lordship did yourself let me go, upon examination had after the preaching of that sermon." Gardiner answered, "Yea, but then

thou didst read thy lectures, against the commandment of the council." Rogers thus met this new charge: "That I did not. Let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have ye now handled me against the law both of God and man. Ye never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning until now, when ye have gotten a whip wherewith to scourge me, and a sword wherewith to cut off my head, if I will not condescend unto your mind. This charity doth all the world understand." This terrible rebuke appears to have palsied the degraded Chancellor, and to have caused the prompt employment of means for silencing the prisoner, thus insulted by the overbearing insolence of office, and marked out for death under colour of an unprincipled *ex post facto* law. "I might and would have added," says Rogers, "if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws. For they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, not of punishment. But these men's purpose was to keep people in prison so long until they might catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a craftily-devised law was cast into the den of lions. I could also have declared that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending to him at Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, my wife being great with child, with a supplication, and with her eight honest women." No opportunity was, however,

allowed him of thus exposing his own wrongs, and the malice of his persecutors; Gardiner abruptly closing the examination by saying that he and the Church must use charity[s], and therefore that the prisoners should not receive judgment until the morrow, in the hope, that by that time, they would repent, and return to the Catholic Church. Rogers said, "Out of the true Catholic Church I never was, nor ever will be; but unto your Church, by God's grace, I will never come." On this Gardiner asked, "Is our Church, then, false and antichristian?" The prisoner merely answered, "Yea." The Chancellor next enquired, "And what is our doctrine of the Sacrament?" "False," was the brief reply. Some action, however, being used while this expressive monosyllable escaped the lips, a trifling sycophant, that stood by, exclaimed, "A player!" Rogers took no notice of this insult. The Chancellor then told him, that he must be there again between nine and ten, on the following morning. "I am ready to come," he replied, "whensoever ye call!" He was then removed, and conducted, together with Bishop Hooper, amidst an immense crowd of admiring spectators, to the counter, in Southwark[t].

On the following morning the court sat with closed doors[u]: it consisted of the prelates who had com-

[s] Rogers thus comments upon these hypocritical words of course: "What manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand; as to wit, the same that the fox doth use with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs."

[t] Relation of Mr. Rogers, Foxe, 1351. Ibid. 1369.

[u] Ibid. 1351.

posed it on the preceding day, with the addition of Day, Bishop of Chichester [v]. The business began with Bishop Hooper's case, and that prelate was earnestly besought to recant. As might, however, be expected, these instances wholly failed. Hooper seems to have argued in a spirited manner against all the corrupt innovations of Romanism, which were offered to his notice; for the acts say of him, "that he persisted in his obstinacy and malice, and brake out into blasphemies." Among these, no doubt, were the following words, which he spoke respecting what is called the sacrament of marriage: "If matrimony be a sacrament, then I can prove seven score sacraments." At length, finding him inflexible, Gardiner pronounced him an excommunicated heretic, and read the definitive sentence against him [x]. In this he is merely styled, "a priest, and formerly a monk of the Cistercian order." His judges, therefore, acting in conformity with some angry precedents afforded at an early period of the struggle against the papal usurpation, denied the validity of his episcopal character, as being derived through heretics and schismatics [y]. His condemna-

[v] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 287.

[x] Ibid. 288.

[y] The council of Piacenza, holden in 1095, in the presence of Urban II. pronounces ordinations void which have been made by prelates expressly condemned by the Roman see; the second council of Rome, holden under the same pontiff, in 1099, repeats this decision. The first council of Lateran, holden in 1123, pronounces void all ordinations made by Burdinus, who is styled an heresiarch, but of whose history little more is known than that he was a very eminent person; and also such as have been made by

tion rested upon the known and admitted fact, that he held the three following articles, which are indiscriminately designated "errors, heresies, and false opinions." 1. "That every monastic person, even after profession, and every priest, even after sacerdotal ordination, is allowed by the laws of both God and man, to marry, and to cohabit with the female, whom he has espoused, as his lawful wife." 2. "That on account of fornication and adultery, persons lawfully married may, by God's word and authority, be separated and divorced from the bond of marriage; and that persons released from each other, upon such account, by the constituted authorities, may lawfully contract a new marriage." 3. "That in the sacrament of the altar, the true and natural body and blood of Christ are not truly present under the species of bread and wine; and that there are only present there material bread and wine, without the truth and the presence of Christ's body and blood[z]."

When Rogers was introduced, he was again urged

the "pseudo-bishops" ordained by him. At the council of Rheims, holden in 1148, Eugenius III. being present, the ordinations of heretics and schismatics are pronounced void. At the council of Tours, holden in 1163, Alexander III. being present, ordinations made by the anti-pope, Octavian, and by other heretics and schismatics, are pronounced void. At the third council of Lateran, holden in 1179, a similar decree was enacted. These constitutions, however, are all worded in a brief and peremptory manner; and as the principle of them is unsound, it was not acted upon in subsequent papal schisms. Labb. et Coss. x. 504. 616. 897. 1113. 1421. 1508.

[z] Sent. contra Joh. Hooper. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 276.

by Gardiner to follow his own example, and that of his brethren, in submitting once more to the Roman see. This advice was, as heretofore, firmly refused, and the prisoner proceeded to justify himself and his opinions with great vehemence. He cited St. Austin, and Panormitan[a], as authorities for declining the judgments of any tribunal, unless it shall be consonant with God's revealed word. He then began to comment with much severity upon the time-serving conduct displayed by the prelates before him, expressing his conviction, that if King Henry were alive again, and were bent upon such a line of ecclesiastical policy as he had actually pursued, all of them would have applauded and obeyed him. This rebuke was so pungently seasoned with truth, that his judges were unable to bear it, and the prisoner was not allowed to go on. The sentence against him was passed upon the two following grounds: 1. "That he had pronounced the Catholic Church of Rome to be the Church of Antichrist." 2. "That he had denied the reality and substantiality of Christ's natural body and blood in the Eucharist." The condemnation being read, Gardiner hypocritically added, that the prisoner was now laid under an awful malediction; and that such as should eat or

[a] Nicholas Tudeschi, Archbishop of Palermo, generally known as *Panormitanus*, or the *Abbé de Palerme*, one of the most celebrated canonists of the fifteenth century. He died in 1445, after having played a conspicuous, but very far from a consistent part in the controversies respecting the limits of papal and conciliar authority, which agitated his age. Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Basle, ii. 117.

drink with him, or give him any thing, would participate in his sin. Having concluded, Rogers thus addressed him: "Well, my Lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and I take Him to witness, that I never, knowingly, taught any false doctrine. I have, therefore, a good conscience before God, and before all good men. You and I shall hereafter assuredly come before a righteous Judge; in his presence I shall be as good a man as you. Nor do I any thing doubt but that I shall be found a true member of the true Catholic Church of Christ, and shall be, therefore, everlastingly saved. As to your false Church, ye have no need to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years: the Lord be thanked therefore. But as ye have now done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you, grant me yet one thing." It was asked him immediately; "What is that thing?" He answered: "That my poor wife, being a stranger[b], may come

[b] "Rogers went to Wittemberg in Saxony, to live with Martin Luther, by whom he was both confirmed in his religion, and provided of a Dutch wife." (Persons, Three Conv. ii. 322.) This railing Jesuit, after venting some more of such flippant levity, thus writes: "Rogers for his maintenance, and feeding of his German hungry family got, with much ado, the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's, without Newgate; and afterward, when Queen Mary came to reign, *shewing himself not only turbulent concerning the state and Queen Mary's coming in*, but also obstinate in heresy, he was condemned, and burned in Smithfield." The artful manner in which a vague charge of political delinquency is here brought against Rogers renders this passage worthy of notice. Careless Romish readers would naturally conclude from it, that Rogers had notoriously committed himself against Queen Mary. The

and speak with me so long as I live. She hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what were best for her to do." Gardiner answered, with certainly a sufficient hardihood of indifference for his character, both as to feeling and learning: "She is not thy wife." "Yea, but she is, my Lord," said Rogers, "and she hath been so these eighteen years." The Chancellor knew, especially after he had openly committed himself by the hasty judgment which he had recently given, that the matter would not bear a public argument. He said, therefore, hesitatingly; "Should I grant her to be thy wife?" Rogers replied: "Choose ye, whether ye will or not; she shall be so, notwithstanding." This manifestation of merited contempt, again roused Gardiner's anger, and he said: "She shall not come at thee." "Then, my Lord," said the prisoner, "I have tried all your charity." He now proceeded to mention the scandalous concubinage which disgraced the Romish clergy every where, but especially in Wales, and in some parts of the Continent. Such charges could neither be denied nor palliated, and the Chancellor received them in silence, but in evident confusion [c].

Hooper and Rogers, being dismissed from the presence of their judges, were delivered to the sheriffs of London, who were desired to detain them in the Clink prison until night. Darkness having com-

contrary, however, is the fact, as Persons knew well enough; but he, probably, considered himself to have saved his veracity, by confining his imputation upon the martyr to a mere generality.

[c] Foxe, 1353.

pletely thrown her murky mantle over the town, it was hoped that these objects of popular sympathy and admiration might be conveyed unobservedly to Newgate. London, however, seems to have been agitated: and, accordingly, for the sake of eluding the public eye, it was deemed advisable merely to conduct the prisoners, in the first instance, from the Clink to Winchester-house. They passed, however, only through that mansion, and were soon after entering its portals, on their way over London-bridge. Officers were sent in advance, ordering the costermongers, who sat at stalls on the street sides, to put out their candles. These humble dealers were necessarily compelled to obey, but notwithstanding, the procession wanted neither lights nor observation. Its passage was anxiously looked for, and eagerly hailed. On both sides of the crowded streets, pious householders stood at their doors with lights; and as the prisoners passed onwards to their dreary lodging, affectionate salutations, earnest prayers, and exulting thanksgivings for their constancy resounded in their ears [d].

Rogers was the foremost in that "noble army of martyrs" of whom the reformed Church of England has to boast. Having been degraded from his ministerial orders by the hands of Bishop Boner, in Newgate, he was summoned to the stake on Monday, the 4th of February. Before he left the prison, one of the sheriffs urged him "to revoke his abominable doctrines and his evil opinion of the sacrament of

[d] Foxe, 1370.

the altar." The victim answered firmly; "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Thou art an heretic, then," said the magistrate. The reply was; "That will be seen at the day of judgment." "Well then," rejoined the sheriff, "I will never pray for thee." Rogers meekly said; "But I will pray for *thee*." On entering the street, he found an immense crowd waiting to see him, by whom he was received with every demonstration of pious respect and gratitude. He passsed along repeating the fifty-first psalm, and in his way he suffered the momentary pain of observing among the afflicted spectators, his wife and ten of his children: an eleventh hanging unconsciously at its mother's breast. Being arrived in Smithfield, a pardon was offered to him, if he would recant. But his holy magnanimity forsook him not, and he refused the proffered clemency [c]. John Rogers was educated at Cambridge, and in early life he had officiated with

[c] Foxe, 1356. Noailles informs us that the constancy of Rogers occasioned general satisfaction, and that he was repeatedly cheered by the populace in his way to the stake, as if he had been the bridegroom in some nuptial procession, rather than a victim in his way to a horrible conflict with death. "Cejourd' huy a esté faicte la confirmation de l'alliance entre le Pape, et ce royaulme, par ung sacrifice publiqc et solempnel, d'ung docteur prédicant nommé Rogerus, lequel a esté bruslé tout vif pour estre Lutherien, mais il est mort persistant en son opinion. A quóy la plus grand part de ce peuple a prins tel plaisir, qu'ilz n'ont eu craincte de lui faire plusieurs acclamations pour conforter son couraige, et mesmes ses enfans y ont assisté, le consolant de telle façon, qu'il sembloist qu'on le menast aux nopces." M. le Prothonotaire de Noailles à M. le Connestable. 4. Fev. 1554. Ambass. iv. 173.

great satisfaction to his employers, as chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp. He there became acquainted with Tyndale and Coverdale, in whose company he often turned over the Sacred Volume, and sought therein for the grounds of that religious system in which he had been educated. His enquiries terminated in a conviction, that the peculiar tenets of Romanism are merely built upon the sandy foundation of man's authority; and he, therefore, manfully shook off the prejudices amidst which his intellect had been matured. Like other Englishmen at that period, who had struggled through the darkness and bondage of inveterate prepossessions into the glorious light and liberty of Evangelical truth, Rogers became anxious to form a personal acquaintance with Luther. He repaired, accordingly, to Wittenberg, and acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the German, he was appointed pastor of a congregation there. His principal literary labour was the charge of revising and editing the first authorised English version of the Bible[f]. He was, in fact, the person designated in the title-page of that work as Thomas Matthewe: a disguise, probably, adopted for the sake of obviating that popular prejudice which might be expected to assail the work, if it had come forth as little more than a corrected edition of the depreciated labours of Tyndale and Coverdale. On King Edward's accession, Rogers, who was then a

[f] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. ii. 252. In the sentence condemnatory against Rogers, he is designated "John Rogers, priest, *alias* called Matthewe."

married man with a large family, returned into his native country; and he was immediately patronised by Bishop Ridley. That excellent and discerning prelate appointed him to a prebend of St. Paul's. The dean and chapter of that church then nominated him to read a lecture in divinity there [g], and he likewise obtained the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's. His condition, probably, was thus rendered easy, and that his outward advantages were far from undeserved, not only the whole course of his former life, but also the respect which he gained in London are undeniable evidences. His interference to save the life of Bourn, when that preacher indecently attacked King Edward's proceedings, was a claim upon Mary's government for forbearance, at least. Nor is it unlikely, that Rogers would have been permitted to escape: for he was at first merely confined to his house. But his principles exacted from him a dutiful obedience to lawful authority, and he, therefore, quietly remained within the reach of that vindictive and tyrannical bigotry which eagerly seized the first opportunity to spill his blood.

Rogers had hoped to have enjoyed the comfort of being accompanied to the last glorious scene of his useful life by Bishop Hooper; that prelate having been formally degraded from the priesthood, together with himself, in the chapel of Newgate. But the folly of Mary's government was equal to its cruelty. Hooper was destined to wrestle with death at Gloucester, the place in which so many

[g] Foxe, 1349.

pious Christians had been benefited by his preaching, such numbers of the poor had been fed by his bounty, and in which all but the veriest reprobates would readily attest his virtues. When the devoted prelate heard that this city was to receive the benefit of witnessing his last sufferings, his spirits rose immediately beyond their wonted pitch, and he warmly praised God for thus sending him to confirm the faith of those who had heard his doctrine. About four o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 5th of February, the sheriffs of London conducted him from Newgate, to a place, near St. Dunstan's church, in Fleet-street; where six of the royal guard were in readiness to receive him. These men took him to the Angel-inn, by St. Clement's, where he ate a cheerful and a hearty breakfast. Having finished their meal the party took to horse; Hooper though somewhat lame, mounting without aid the animal prepared for him. A hood was slouched over his face, under his hat, in order to prevent people from recognising him on the road, and his armed attendants constantly enquiring of him what inns he had been used to frequent in his journeys, never failed to take him to a different house. He seems to have reached Cirencester without attracting any particular notice. He arrived in that town to dinner, about eleven o'clock in the morning of Thursday, and was taken, as usual, to an inn where he was likely to be unknown. The landlady of this house had been, moreover, an avowed enemy to his principles, and she had even expressed it as her opinion, that with all his zeal, he would recant,

rather than burn. But when she saw him thus meekly going to the slaughter, her heart relented. She wept over his approaching fate, and treated him with the most assiduous attention. After dinner, the party rode forward, and being arrived within a mile of Gloucester, found a large assemblage awaiting its approach. The guard naturally looked upon the crowd, under apprehensions of a rescue, and one of the men pushed on to claim assistance from the civic authorities. The local officers, accordingly, ordered all persons to their houses; but to this injunction was paid very little attention. The people, however, though lamenting loudly the prisoner's case, shewed no disposition for violence. Amidst this gratifying display of popular affection, Hooper was conducted to a private house. He there supped with a good appetite, and retiring to rest, slept soundly. Before the night was spent, he rose, and engaged in fervent prayer. His chamber having been shared by the guard, he begged, on the following morning, that he might be permitted to pass the day, at his devotions, by himself in the adjoining room. This reasonable request being granted, the willing victim wore away the day, in earnest supplications for strength and mercy, and in meditation upon heavenly things. Upon these interesting exercises his attention was, indeed, fixed so intensely, that it could not readily be called off to worldly matters. While thus absorbed, Sir Anthony Kingston, a former acquaintance, now one of the commissioners for arranging his martyrdom, entered his apartment, and saluted him. Hooper's

mind was, however, so completely occupied in prayer, that he heeded not the voice with which he had once been familiar. The Knight looked upon him with strong emotion, and bursting into tears, he thus again addressed him: "What, my Lord, do ye not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?" By this time, the martyr had recovered his consciousness of surrounding objects, and he courteously replied: "Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and I praise God for the same." His visitor then endeavoured to revive his desire to live, by representing that a pardon might be had upon his recantation, adding at the same time, that death is bitter, and life sweet. "I thank you for your friendly counsel, Master Kingston," said Hooper, "although it is not quite so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but pray, consider, that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come more sweet. For the terror and fear, therefore, that I have of the one, and the desire and love that I have of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life. I have settled myself, accordingly, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the fiery torments now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of his Word. And in the meantime, I desire of you, and others to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers." Kingston mournfully rejoined; "Well then, my Lord, I perceive that there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you; thanking

God that ever I knew you: for you were appointed to call me, being a lost child. I have been both a fornicator and an adulterer; but by your good instructions God hath brought me to forsake and detest these heinous iniquities." By this testimony to the efficacy of his ministry, Hooper was deeply moved, and he prayed earnestly, that his visitor might continue stedfastly to the end of his life in habits worthy of a Christian. After much interesting converse, Kingston, with cheeks bathed in tears, bade his former friend farewell. He too wept, and he said, that of all the troubles to which his imprisonment had subjected him no one had given him half so much pain as that parting. In the evening he was delivered up by the guardsmen, into the custody of the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of Gloucester. These magistrates kindly took him by the hand, and courteously saluted him. This mark of amiable feeling highly gratified Hooper, and he expressed himself very thankful, that a company of old acquaintances had not ceased to treat him with affectionate civility, because he was a prisoner, and a condemned man. The municipal authorities proposed to lodge him for the night in the common gaol, but he had won the hearts of his escort from London, and these honest soldiers earnestly besought that he might not be exposed to such an inconvenience. He had shewn himself, they said, while in their custody, so mild and tractable, that a child might manage him; and they offered to answer for his security, during another night, rather than have him deprived of such comforts as his present lodgings

afforded. For himself, the martyr seems merely to have requested, that a quick fire should be made at the place of suffering, and that he might be permitted to retire to rest, at an early hour; in order that being refreshed with sleep in the fore part of the night, he might have a considerable space for the vigorous prosecution of his devotions, before the consummation of his earthly trials. It was, at length, determined, that he should not be removed, and at five, in the afternoon, he sought his couch. After a sound sleep of considerable duration, he rose; and requesting that he might be left alone until the time of execution, he spent the rest of the night in prayer. About nine in the morning, he was led from his lodgings surrounded by men armed with javelins, and other weapons. On the preceding day, he had assured the civic authorities when they stood plunged in manifest grief around him, that he would give them no sort of trouble, and that if one of them would but hold up his finger, he would immediately desist from doing or saying anything that might be disliked. He was now, therefore, grieved to see all this parade of force. He said, accordingly, to the magistrates: "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer. If ye had willed me, I would have gone alone unto the stake, and have troubled none of you at all." A very large number of persons, not less than seven thousand, as it was estimated, being assembled, he looked upon them, and said: "Alas! why be these people come together? Peri-

adventure, they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past: but alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto all of them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of God's Word. Because I will not account the same to be heresy and untruth, therefore this kind of death is prepared for me." Saying these words he calmly placed himself between the sheriffs, and walked along, leaning upon a staff; an assistance which he was compelled to use on account of rheumatic affections which had seized his limbs during the long confinement which he had undergone in damp dungeons. His ordinary habit appears not to have been a cheerful one, but now that the mortal temperament was about to clog his spirit no longer, he seemed to enjoy a foretaste of his deliverance; and as it commonly happens to good men upon the brink of eternity, a delightful serenity beamed from his countenance. A strict charge had been given him not to speak [h], and this he religiously obeyed; although he must have been deeply moved by the loud lamentations which resounded in his ears on every side; and although his eyes rested several

[h] Orders were sent down from the court, that he should not be permitted to speak at any length in his way to the stake. As a reason for this needless act of tyranny, he is styled in the warrant for his execution, a vain-glorious person, who delighted in talking, and who would therefore, if allowed the opportunity, be likely to impress erroneous doctrines upon the people. Collier, ii. 379. From a Cottonian MS.

times upon faces which he knew. He contented himself, however, upon such recognitions, with bidding farewell by means of a resigned and affectionate look alone. Having reached the spot, where stood the preparations for his painful end[1], he knelt down, and spent about half an hour in prayer. An attempt was now made to shake his resolution by shewing to him the royal pardon, which was regularly engrossed, and awaited his acceptance. "If you love my soul," said he, "away with it." The Lord Chandos, on this observed: "There is no remedy then:" and he added immediately: "Despatch; quickly." After another brief interval devoted to prayer, the sufferer threw off his gown, and begged of the sheriffs to return it to his host, from whom he had borrowed it. He wished to have mounted the pyre in his doublet and hose, but this indulgence was refused to him, and he was compelled to strip himself to his shirt. When thus prepared for immolation, one of the friendly soldiers who had guarded him from London, came to him with some bags of gunpowder, which had been kindly prepared for placing under his arms, and about other parts of his person. Having disposed these as it was recommended; he requested of the spectators to repeat the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him while he should continue in the agonies of death. Instantly arose the voice of prayer, interrupted by sobs and groans from every

[1] "Which was near unto the great elm-tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach." Foxe, 1372.

quarter of the crowded area. He then ascended to the stake, and irons were brought to fasten him to it. "You need not," said he, "thus to trouble yourselves. I doubt not that God will vouchsafe me strength to abide the fire's extremity without bands." A chain, however, for the waist, he willingly allowed to be drawn around him; admitting that the frailty of his flesh might make him swerve from his position. While standing in momentary expectation of his parting struggle, a stranger approached, and intreated his forgiveness. "For what?" asked the martyr. "To my knowledge thou hast never offended me." The man replied: "Oh, Sir, I am appointed to kindle the fire." "Therein," said Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me. Do thine office; and God forgive thee thy sins." Bundles of reeds were now thrown upon the pile; some of which the sufferer embraced in his arms, and he calmly gave directions for the placing of others. Flame being added to the mass of fuel, its progress was to feeling spectators most painfully slow. Much of the wood was green, and violent gusts of wind blew the devouring element away from the victim. At length, however, the flame mounted, the reeds caught fire, and Hooper's frame was enveloped in a blazing mass. Unhappily, the flame soon died away, and left him scorched, indeed, severely, but affected in no vital part. He was now seen to wipe his eyes, and intensity of pain obliged him to exclaim: "For God's sake, good people, let me have more fire." Upon this appeal was brought a fresh supply of fuel, and soon afterwards the bags

of gunpowder exploded; but the violence of the wind, and probably also the wetness of the powder, caused them to have little effect. Hooper's agonies were prolonged through more than three quarters of an hour. He bore this frightful conflict with admirable constancy; moving incessantly his lips in prayer, and beating his breast with his hands, until one of his arms dropped off. Even then he continued to beat his breast with the remaining hand so long as consciousness remained[k]. It will readily be supposed that the majority of those who gazed upon this horrid scene, knowing too, as many of them did, the virtues of him who was thus tortured out of life, were at no great loss to choose between his religion, and that of his persecutors.

The same day that was dignified by Bishop Hooper's martyrdom, presented a similar spectacle on the eastern side of England. Rowland Taylor was a native of Rothbury, in Northumberland, who received his academical education at Cambridge, and there embraced a scriptural faith[l]. He lived for some time in the family of Archbishop Cranmer, who preferred him to the rectory of Hadleigh, in Suffolk; a place already enlightened to see the vanity of Romish traditions by the preaching of Bilney. Dr. Taylor, on obtaining this benefice, immediately went to residence, abandoned his pursuits as a canonist, and bent all the energies of his powerful mind to the zealous discharge of his parochial duties.

[k] Foxe, 1373.
[l] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 291.

As he shewed no disposition to restore the mass in his church, after Queen Mary's accession, two of his neighbours, actuated either by an honest attachment to Romanism, or by an interested anxiety to gain favour with the ruling powers, determined upon accomplishing this change surreptitiously. They rebuilt, accordingly, the altar in Hadleigh-church with all haste and secresy, and the rector of Aldham, an adjoining parish, engaged to say mass before it [m].

[m] There is a chronological obscurity in Foxe's relation of these transactions. He opens it in the following vague manner; "In the beginning of this rage of anti-christ." As this sentence follows immediately after the mention of King Edward's death, and of Queen Mary's innovations in ecclesiastical affairs, one might imagine from it that Taylor's neighbours had resolved to force the mass upon his parish before it was legally restored. This is farther rendered probable by the length of time loosely and inaccurately assigned by Foxe to the martyr's imprisonment, viz. "almost two years." On the other hand, the martyrologist says, that Taylor's hostile neighbours intended to re-establish the mass in his church "about the Palm Monday." This looks as if the zealous Rector of Hadleigh had disobeyed the law, which abolished King Edward's liturgy after the 20th of December, having continued beyond that day illegally to use the forbidden service. Persons, however, (Three Conv. ii. 355.) intimates the contrary of this, merely saying, as to the immediate cause of Taylor's apprehension: "By force and violence he had hindered a priest to say mass, *at the beginning of Queen Mary's days*; and was like to have raised a commotion of the people about it. So boisterous and turbulent a fellow he was." It may be sufficient to observe, in passing, that Taylor does not appear to have used any force or violence, and that he did not succeed in hindering his officious neighbour from celebrating. If, however, that forward clergyman had intruded himself into another man's church to say a service, then contrary to law, there can be no

In the night, however, their erection was broken down. No time being lost in repairing this damage, doubt that the insulted incumbent was justified in repelling such an invasion of his rights. That Taylor was, upon this account, justified in what he did, appears probable, both from the loyal obedience displayed by clergymen of his party in general, and also from the fact, that he left, on setting off for London, a curate of his own principles in charge of his parish; an exercise of his discretion which would hardly have been permitted, if the overthrow of King Edward's reforms had then been completely legalised. His curate, who was named Yeoman, seems to have been allowed to serve the church only for a very short time, being soon apprehended as a heretic, and sent to Norwich, where, eventually, he was burnt. Such was, however, the zeal of Taylor's parishioners for the Reformation, that after Yeoman's forcible removal, a layman, named Alcock, daily read, in Hadleigh-church a chapter from the Bible, and the Litany, in English. He, too, was brought into trouble on account of his opinions; being sent up a prisoner to London, where he died in Newgate, after the confinement of a twelvemonth.

It should, perhaps, be added, that Foxe describes the rector of Aldham, who lent himself so unwarrantably to an invasion of Dr. Taylor's church, as a man of most licentious character. John Averth is given as this clergyman's name, and as this foul imputation upon him was published when, if he were not living himself, many people must have been able and anxious to refute any calumnies upon him, it is probably not unworthy of credit. Among the London incumbents also, one of the earliest who set up the mass in his church, was a man of very bad character. His name was Chicken, and he held the rectory of St. Nicholas Cole-abbey. He said mass with tapers, and a crucifix, on the 21st of August, (little more than a fortnight after Queen Mary's arrival in London:) and being a married man, he sold his wife to a butcher. On the 24th of the following November, this ecclesiastic was carted through the streets of London; an infamous punishment, then commonly inflicted upon strumpets, pandars, and other such worthless profligates. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 34.

the new altar was watched until the priest who was pledged to officiate had arrived, and then the bells of the church were rung, as was usual, for service. Their sound was the signal for which, probably, Dr. Taylor waited. He had no sooner heard it than he left his study, and went to the church. He found, on arriving, that the principal entrance was closed, and locked, but the chancel-door was on the latch, and by it he entered. He then saw his intrusive neighbour standing before the newly-built altar, and appareled for the celebration of mass. Around him stood several men, with drawn swords, to protect him from interruption. "Thou devil," said Taylor, "who made thee so bold as to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with your abominable idolatry?" The rector of Aldham asked in turn, "Thou traitor, what doest thou here to let and disturb the Queen's proceedings?" The answer was, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd whom God hath appointed to feed his flock in this place. I have therefore good authority here, and I command thee, thou Popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, not presuming to poison the people committed to my charge with Romish idolatries." An altercation followed, in the course of which Taylor once awakened the real or pretended scruples of his unfriendly brother, by representing that he was about to act uncanonically in officiating at an altar unconsecrated. One of the lay contrivers of the intrusion observed, however, that a *superaltare* had been provided, and hence that mass might be said with pro-

priety. When reminded of this, the rector of Aldham proceeded to officiate, Taylor being removed by force, and the church-doors being fastened. This last precaution indeed was necessary, for a considerable number of persons had assembled in the church-yard, who threw stones at the windows, and shewed a determined spirit of hostility against the intruders. These Romish zealots followed up their outrage by making a formal complaint against Dr. Taylor to the Chancellor Gardiner. In consequence of this, a letter from that minister soon arrived at Hadleigh, commanding the rector, upon his allegiance, to appear, within a limited time, in London. His friends exhorted him to notice this alarming summons by an instant flight to some place of safety. But Taylor answered with that dauntless resolution which never forsook him, "I am now old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and wicked days. Flee you, and act as your consciences lead. I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go before the Bishop, and to tell him to his beard, that he doth naught. Our Almighty Father will hereafter raise up teachers of his people, who shall instruct them with much more fruit and diligence than I have done. God will never forsake his Church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, not without just cause. As for me, I am fully persuaded, that I shall never be able to render

"*Superaltare* is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foot long, which the Papists carry instead of an altar, when they mass for money in gentlemen's houses." Foxe, 1380, note.

such effective service to my gracious Lord, as I may do now; and that I shall never have so glorious a calling as I have at this very time. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the Pope and his adherents? I know that the Papacy is the kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of deceit: so that the whole Romish doctrine, from the one end of it even unto the other, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and falsehood." When this bold oppugner of an unscriptural faith appeared before Gardiner, that prelate abusively called him "knave, traitor, heretic." Taylor heard these insults with temper, saying, that he did not deserve them; that he had obediently left his home on receiving an order for that purpose, and that now he should be glad to know what was the matter of complaint against him. "Thou villain," exclaimed the infuriated Chancellor, "how darest thou look me in the face, for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" It was replied, "Yes, my Lord, I *do* know who you are; you are Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor; yet but a mortal man I trow. How dare *ye*, for shame, look any Christian man in the face; seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ, and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed king, Henry the Eighth, of famous memory, and afterwards unto the blessed king, Edward the Sixth, his son?" This vigorous onset appears to have somewhat cooled the

Chancellor, and he thus guardedly met it: "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath°, unlawful, and therefore to be broken. I have done well in breaking it, and I thank God that I am come home again unto our mother, the Catholic Church of Rome; and so I would that thou shouldst do." Taylor said in

° Such an oath as Herod rashly swore to the daughter of Herodias, which led to the murder of St. John the Baptist, (St. Matt. xiv.) No doubt the guilt of taking such an oath as this was vastly less than the guilt of acting upon it, in the way that was required of the degraded Herod. That Gardiner, however, should have had the front to compare his case with the rashness of a foolish prince, who probably was heated with wine, and who certainly pledged himself in haste, without any deliberation, is, among the many proofs of even able men's liability to fall grievously and shamefully, when they are led by interest, instead of conscience. This profligate contempt of an oath, once solemnly taken, is thus excellently mentioned in a letter written by Bishop Ridley to Mr. Bradford: "Blessed be God again and again, which gave you a good mind and remembrance of your oath once made against the Bishop of Rome, *lest you should be partaker of the common perjury which all men almost are now fallen into*, in bringing in again that wicked, usurped power of his: which oath was made, according to the Prophet, *in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness*, (Jerem. xx. 2.) and therefore cannot, without perjury, be revoked. Let Satan roar, and rage, and practise all the cruelty he can. Oh, good Lord, that they are so busy with you about the Church. It is no new thing, brother, that is happened unto you, for that was always the clamour of the wicked bishops and priests against God's true prophets; *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, are these*, (Jerem. vii. 4.); *for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet*, (Ibid. xviii. 18.) and yet in them whom they only esteemed for their priests and sages, there was neither God's law, nor godly wisdom." Letters of the Martyrs, 66.

reply, that if the Pope would turn from error, falsehood, and idolatry, he would gladly join him; but that while the Pontiff's approbation was afforded to abominable doctrines, all Christians were obliged to keep aloof from him. He then reminded Gardiner of his own work, *De Vera Obedientia;* and he told him, that however he might fancy himself released from the oath which he had solemnly taken, in unison with the sound principles maintained in that book, he would hereafter find that he must answer for his engagement at the tribunal of Christ. This attack again drew from the Chancellor his frivolous and disingenuous comparison between his own oath and that of Herod: it also provoked him to another exhibition of unseemly railing, he calling Taylor "an arrogant knave, and a very fool." In the end, admissions having been obtained from the Suffolk rector, that he was married, and that he denied any propitiatory character to the mass, he was committed to the King's Bench prison [p].

After a long confinement, Dr. Taylor was brought, as has been related already, before the privy council, at St. Mary Overy's. On the 30th of January, he again appeared there, and was condemned as a heretic; the Bishops Gardiner, Boner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Bourn, White, Bayne, Aldrich, and Hopton sitting on the judicial bench [q]. The grounds of his condemnation were his maintenance of priests'

[p] Foxe, 1382.

[q] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 290. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Wharton and Lumley, with several other individuals of some note were present to witness these proceedings.

right to marry, and his denial of transubstantiation. He likewise asserted that the Pope was antichrist, and popery antichristianity; also that Scripture contains all doctrines necessary for salvation; and that the oaths administered in England of late years, in prejudice to the Roman see, were lawful. He concluded with his usual spirit by exhorting the bishops to repent "for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity[r]." On coming into the street from the presence of his judges, he thus addressed an immense crowd which eagerly pressed forward to see him: "God be thanked, good people, I am come away from them undefiled; and I will confirm the truth with my blood." He was detained in the Clink prison until dark, and then he was removed to the Poultry counter. Thither, on the 4th of February, Bishop Boner came to degrade him from the priesthood, and Taylor then displayed not only an unshaken courage, but also that never-failing vein of pleasantry which enabled him, as a similar temperament had enabled Sir Thomas More, to find food for mirth in every circumstance, however dispiriting. All the gaudy habiliments, used by Romish priests in celebrating mass, were, according to custom, brought for him to put on, and he was desired to dress himself in them. He refused, and was thus robed by force. He then fixed his hands against his sides, and walking up and down, he said sarcastically; "How say you, my Lord, am I not a goodly

[r] Foxe, 1384. From a Letter of Dr. Taylor.

fool?" referring, probably, to his large size: "How say *you*, my masters; if I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?" The ceremony of stripping these garments off him appears to have been conducted with tolerable ease, but when the Bishop was about to strike him with his crosier, according to established usage, his chaplain thus interposed: "My Lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter, will I," said Taylor, "the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I should refuse to fight in my master's quarrel." All this, however, was little more than a mere ebullition of a playful temper. He took leave of the Bishop, by praying that God would forgive him, if it were his gracious will. But he was amused to see the embarrassment of Boner and the officious zeal of his chaplain. He could not, therefore, resist the pleasure of adding, for a moment, to the awkwardness of their situation.* At two o'clock in the morning of the 6th of February, Taylor was removed from London, in order to suffer in the neighbourhood of his own benefice. Near Brentwood, he was recognised by an old servant, and in consequence he was provided in that town with a close visor, having apertures for the mouth

* This appears from what he said immediately after leaving the Bishop's presence. "When he came up, he told Master Bradford, for then both lay in one chamber, that he had made the Bishop of London afraid. *For*, said he laughingly, *his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike him again, and by my troth*, said he, rubbing his hands, *I made him believe I would do so indeed.*" Foxe, 1385.

and eyes, but otherwise covering all his face. At Chelmsford he supped, and the sheriff of Essex, in whose custody he was, persuaded him earnestly to recant; concluding by drinking his health. The yeomen of the guard then said, that they would also drink to him, in the hope and expectation that he would follow the sheriff's advice. When the tankard came to Taylor, he said, after a pause: "Master sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will. I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and that I am likely to deceive a great many at Hadleigh, of their expectation." The whole party was delighted at this announcement, and the sheriff thus gave his feelings vent: "Yea, good Master Doctor, God's blessing on your heart. Hold you there still: it is the most comfortable word that we have heard you speak yet. Why should ye cast yourself away in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Being pressed to be more explicit, the prisoner said: "I had reckoned upon dying in my bed, at Hadleigh, and upon being buried in the church-yard there. I am deceived therein. In the said church-yard is a great number of worms, which have long looked for abundant feeding upon this large carcase of mine. They will be deceived therein; for this my body will be burnt to ashes." This playful frame of mind shewed itself, upon occasions, during the whole of the martyr's journey, to the great astonish-

ment of his escort. At other times he earnestly exhorted these men to repentance, and succeeded in moving them even to tears. At no time did his spirits flag, or his resolution waver. Being arrived at Lavenham, he was detained there during two days, in the hope that he might be persuaded to recant. Every attempt to accomplish this object having failed, he was led to his death, on the 9th of February, and he heard, with great satisfaction, that he was to pass through Hadleigh. "O good Lord, I thank thee," said he, "that I shall yet once, ere I die, see my flock, whom Thou knowest I have heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and truth." At the foot of Hadleigh bridge were placed a poor man and his family, who had been often relieved by the Rector's charity, and who now earnestly implored blessings upon his head. The streets of the town were crowded, and prayers, blessings, grateful acknowledgements of past favours, and sentences in admiration of his constancy, reached the martyr's ears from every side. The officers endeavoured vainly to restrain these demonstrations of popular feeling. Taylor himself took an occasion thus to address his grieved and admiring parishioners; "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and I am come this day to seal it with my blood." In passing the almshouses he looked for a man and woman, both blind, whom he had left there, and not seeing them, he asked if they were yet alive. Being answered affirmatively, he threw into their window a glove,

containing all the money which he had remaining. On arriving at Aldham common, he saw that an immense multitude was collected, and he enquired immediately the meaning of this. "Here you must suffer," was the reply. "Then," said he, "God be thanked, I am at home." Upon the pyre's edge he undressed himself with alacrity, and after an interval spent in prayer, he walked to the stake, which having kissed, he placed himself in a pitch-barrel provided for that purpose. He had pledged himself to abstain from addressing the spectators, and the most rigid fulfilment of this promise was exacted from him: a blow being given to him, for merely saying aloud: "Good people, I have taught you nothing but that which is taken out of God's blessed book, and I am come hither this day to seal my doctrine with my blood." When he was fastened to the stake, some difficulty was experienced in find-

[1] What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that, at their deaths, they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence." (Foxe, 1387.) Queen Mary's council, though sufficiently cruel and infatuated, was, however, in this matter, most probably treated by "common fame," much in the same way that many other things are treated by that female of allegorical celebrity. It is most likely, that the martyrs made little hesitation as to giving a promise to abstain from addressing the populace at their deaths. These holy men considered it their duty to obey the constituted authorities in all points unconnected with their sincerity as religious professors.

ing persons to pile the faggots up, and to set them on fire. At length, four notorious vagabonds undertook these hateful offices, and one of them farther signalised his zeal against heresy by flinging a faggot at the martyr's head, which severely wounded it, and caused the blood to flow over his face. "Oh, friend," said Taylor, "what needed that? I have harm enough." He then proceeded to repeat the fifty-first Psalm, in English. "Speak Latin, ye knave!" said a brutal spectator, striking him on the lips. When the fire was kindled, the sufferer lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said: "Merciful Father, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." He then folded his arms upon his breast, and stood motionless without uttering a single exclamation of pain. His sufferings were of short continuance, for one of the men in attendance, fractured his skull with a halbert, and his corpse instantly fell into the mass of fire[u].

The court which consigned Dr. Taylor to the penalties of heresy, condemned also, on the same day, Laurence Saunders. This victim was born of respectable parentage, and having received the first part of his education at Eton, he was thence transferred to King's College, in Cambridge. In that University he remained for three years[x], and then,

[u] Foxe, 1388.

[x] Persons omits the mention of Saunders' earlier studies, and writes of him as if he had been a mere tradesman by education, who took a fancy to become a preacher. "As for Laurence Saunders, which is the third of this quadrillo of married priests, (Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and himself,) he was somewhat of a

at his mother's instances, he consented to become the apprentice of an opulent merchant. His mind, however, had imbibed an aversion for mercantile pursuits which proved unconquerable, and after a brief servitude, his master consented to cancel his indentures. He returned immediately to Cambridge, and there applied himself assiduously to the study of Greek and Hebrew. In the beginning of King Edward's reign he was appointed to read a lecture in divinity at the college of Fotheringay, and when that foundation was dissolved, his abilities as a lecturer, were exercised with great approbation in the cathedral of Lichfield. Subsequently, he was presented to the rectory of Church-Langton, in Leicestershire [y], and within a short time of Queen Mary's accession, Archbishop Cranmer [z] collated him to the rectory of Allhallows, Bread-street, in London. When the religious horizon became dark and threatening, Saunders felt acutely the difficulties which awaited him. He shrank from the conflict before him, and appeared inclined either to take refuge abroad, or to dissemble his opinions altoge-

more quiet nature, as he was also less learned than Rogers. For that being first an apprentice in London, as Foxe declareth, he afterwards became a priest, and got divers benefices." (Three Conv. ii. 328.) Foxe does, indeed, "declare," that Saunders applied for a short time to business, but he declares also that the martyr left the University for the counting house; a fact which would not be suspected by those who are contented with such accounts of the English martyrs as Jesuits are likely to supply.

[y] Foxe, 1357.

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 291.

ther [a]. At length, his courage revived, and he zealously preached against the corrupt innovations of Romanism. One of his sermons at Northampton exposed the defects of that system with so much severity, that some persons in authority who favoured it, caused him to be apprehended. He had, however, judiciously kept clear of politics, and therefore, it was quickly found that there existed no grounds for his detention. Being released, he continued to preach as before, until the royal proclamation obliged him to forsake his pulpit. He then delivered his instructions with less publicity than heretofore; but he seems to have been bent upon evading the Queen's proclamation, rather than upon obeying it. He came out of Leicestershire to his residence in London, and on the following Sunday morning he preached a discourse against Popery, at his church, in Bread-street. He made a shew of conformity to the royal injunctions by bringing his congregation together without the ringing of bells, and by forbearing to mount the pulpit [b]. It was his intention

[a] Communication between Mr. Saunders and Dr. Pendleton. Foxe, 1362.

[b] Imperfect letter from Mr. Saunders to Bp. Gardiner. (Foxe, 1359.) It may be thought, perhaps, that Saunders and others of the Marian martyrs would have acted more wisely in fleeing the country, than in remaining to exasperate the government. He and several more of the sufferers appears to have had opportunities of escaping. Nor is it unlikely, that Mary's administration would have been pleased if many persons had fled who remained at home. But it should be remembered, that if this flight had been almost universal on the part of the clergy, and very few left to bear the brunt of persecution excepting indivi-

to preach again, in this manner, in the afternoon of the same day. But information of his proceedings had reached Bishop Boner, and when the time for meeting his congregation again had arrived, some of that prelate's officers were in waiting to take him into custody. Boner held with Saunders a long and angry conference, which he closed, by desiring him to write his mind upon transubstantiation. "My Lord," said the preacher, "ye seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God, that ye may be so baptised in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." From the Bishop of London Saunders was sent to Gardiner, who thus accosted him: "How happeneth it, that, notwithstanding her Majesty's proclamation, thou hast enterprised to preach?" The prisoner answered, that he had merely followed the dictates of his conscience in acting as he had. "A goodly conscience, surely," said the Chancellor, "it would make our Queen a bastard, or misbegotten; would it not, I pray you?" The brow-beating interrogator had written a book to prove such things against the Queen, and Saunders thus reminded him of this mortifying incident in his time-serving career: "*We* declare not, that the Queen's birth is base. For that let *them* care whose writings, to

duals who had embraced a scriptural faith under the persuasion of their appointed teachers: it would not only have afforded plausible grounds for severe animadversion upon the reformed ministers, but it would also have been likely to spread extensively among their disciples an inclination to relapse into Romish errors.

their infamy and shame, are yet in the hands of men." As usual, under this just reproof, Gardiner's violence gave way, and the prisoner proceeded to say, that although prevented from inculcating the truth with their mouths, he doubted not, that he and others would imprint it upon the popular mind by the shedding of their blood. "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison:" exclaimed the Chancellor. "I thank God," said Saunders, "that in my prison, he hath given me a place of rest and quietness. I shall not forget to pray therein for the conversion of your Lordship." Saunders being among the prisoners brought before the privy council, on the 22nd of January, was hypocritically recommended, as a matter of course to rise, as the board had risen, from an implicit confidence in ecclesiastical authorities purely national, to an unconditional deference for the Pope. He rejected this invitation as inconsistent with his conscience, and being taunted with that plea, he spiritedly added, that he had been trained, since fourteen years of age, in a denial of the papal claims, and that such opinions had been pronounced agreeable to the Catholic religion by several of those before whom he stood. This last unpalatable truth was thus impatiently received by Gardiner: "Yea, marry. But have ye received by common consent and authority, all your heresies respecting the blessed sacrament of the altar?" Boner now produced that opinion against transubstantiation which Saunders had penned, by his desire, when first apprehended, and this document furnished, on a future day, the ground of his con-

demnation; for he admitted that he had written it, and he refused to retract the doctrine which it contained. He would not, however, furnish any other criminatory matter against himself, expressing a desire to live, and asserting, that he had violated no existing law since its enaction[c]. He was degraded from the priesthood, on the 4th of February, by Bishop Boner, and early on the following morning he left town for Coventry, where he was to die. His last night was spent, rather sleeplessly, in the common gaol. He was led to the place of suffering, in the park without Coventry, on the 8th of February, barefooted, and habited only in his shirt, with an old gown thrown over it. In his way he fell flat upon the ground several times, and prayed. Having reached the pyre, a pardon was offered to him if he would revoke his heresies. He answered firmly, that he had taught no heresies, and he was then immediately led to the stake. This he embraced, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ; welcome everlasting life." Of his mortal sufferings nothing is recorded, and it may therefore be reasonably concluded, that his passage to a better world was exempted from those excruciating torments, which have often embittered deaths like his[d].

Bishop Gardiner having kindled the fires of persecution, left to others the hateful office of supplying them with a succession of victims. As his own dio-

[c] Laurence Saunders' own account of his examination. Foxe, 1361.

[d] Foxe, 1362.

cese suffered but little during these melancholy days of Romish vengeance[e], there is ground for imagining that he might disapprove such sanguinary intolerance. On the other hand, Pole represents Gardiner as the soul of the persecution, saying, "that he was no sooner seized with his mortal illness, than religion and justice appeared to suffer with him; impiety and injustice immediately recovering strength[f]." Hence those who smarted under the lash of his tyrannical administration, attributed their sufferings mainly to the Bishop of Winchester. He was indeed a proud and angry man, very little likely to spare such as crossed his policy, and exposed his imperfections. He was also possessed of consummate art, and it is a characteristic of such persons, that they shift upon others the odium of executing obnoxious designs agreeable to themselves. Nor is it to be forgotten, that many men had in their hands, and all men in their mouths, Gardiner's published endeavours to uproot that system, which it was now desired to naturalise again by means of fire and faggot. Dullness, or even mediocrity, combined with impudence,

[e] Fuller, b. viii. 17.

[f] "Hoc tantum dicam, quod jam sensimus, quasi simul cum eo religio et justitia laborarent, sic ab eo tempore, quo is ægrotare cœpit, utramque in hoc regno valde esse infirmatam, rursusque impietatem atque injustitiam vires colligere cœpisse." (Polus Philippo Regi. Ep. v. 52.) Fuller *(ubi supra)* does not cite this passage, but he thus speaks: "I may say of Gardiner, that he had a head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Protestant; plotting, though not acting, their destruction." This language flowed probably from rational conjecture alone; but the epistle of Pole, cited above, is an evidence of its soundness.

may outface merited rebukes. But eminent abilities are sensitive, and men distinguished by them are rarely equal to the task of encountering well-founded and severe animadversions upon their own obliquities. The just retaliation provoked by every burst of his own violence, during the proceedings at St. Mary Overy's, is indeed a sufficient reason why the Chancellor should have loathed the thought of presiding in such a court again. The prefacer to his published attack upon Rome, and the Queen's legitimacy, appears however to have been less alive to his own disgrace; and to that prelate, accordingly, was made over the business of continuing the atrocities which Gardiner had begun. On Friday, the 8th of February, Bishop Boner sat in the consistory of St. Paul's, assisted by the Lord Mayor and certain of the aldermen. Six prisoners were brought before this court, which resumed its session on the following day, and then consigned all these individuals to the secular arm[g]. One of them was Thomas Hawkes, an Essex gentleman, who denied transubstantiation, and answered four interrogatories upon other subjects in a manner pronounced heretical[h]. Another was John Laurence, a priest, also

[g] Foxe, 1389.

[h] Hawkes was burnt at Coggeshall, in Essex, on the 10th of June. Before his execution some of his friends requested of him, that if he felt the fire so far endurable as not to destroy the tranquillity of his mind, he would raise his hands over his head, when consciousness was about to become extinct. Those who watched for this signal were beginning to despair of it, the martyr's body being most frightfully injured, and death having come, as it

condemned for denying transubstantiation[1]; as were the remaining four. Three of these martyrs, Tomkins[k],

seemed, to his relief; when suddenly he raised what remained of his hands over his head, and clapped them thrice together. A shriek of horror arose immediately from those who were not in the secret; from such as were, a murmur of applause. The incident, probably, tended greatly to confirm the constancy of such as felt inclined to dissemble a scriptural faith from the fear of persecution. Foxe, 1446.

[1] He was burnt at Colchester, on the 29th of March; being carried to the stake in a chair, heavy irons having lamed him, and the other hardships of his imprisonment having reduced him to extreme debility. He had been a Dominican friar. Foxe, 1402. Persons, Three Conv. ii. 396.

[k] Tomkins was a weaver, living at Shoreditch, whose hand Bp. Boner burnt over a candle, before several witnesses, in order that he might feel a foretaste of the death to which his opinions exposed him. The following is the manner in which Persons treats this infamous outrage: "To terrify him (Tomkins) the more, he (Foxe) saith, that the B. (Boner) caused him to put his hand in a candle, to prove the fire before he went to it. And thereof he maketh a great painted pageant, (a wood-cut, representing the fact) with many exclamations of cruelty: *But if the B. had done it to the end, that by scorching his hand he might have saved his whole body and soul, who would deny but that it had been piety, and no cruelty?* But Foxe, alleging us no record or witness for the same but his own words, deserveth little credit." (Three Conv. ii. 392.) From this last sentence it would naturally be concluded by persons who draw their knowledge of ecclesiastical history from such books as the *Three Conversions*, that Foxe's account of Boner's brutality to Tomkins is perfectly unsubstantiated. The truth, however, is, that, according to the Martyrologist, Harpsfield and Chadsey, two clergymen of eminence, also Dr. Pendleton, an individual named Willerton, and others unnamed, were present. Some blood, we are also told, from the poor weaver's scorching hand spirted into Harpsfield's face, and that well-known ecclesiastic begged the Bishop to de-

Pigot [l], and Knight [m], were men following the humblest occupations. The fourth was a lad in his twentieth year, named Hunter [n], apprenticed to a silk weaver, in London.

These horrid proceedings filled the whole kingdom with amazement, indignation, and disgust. Unfeeling Romish bigots were disappointed, because this atrocious ebullition of their party's intolerance had wholly failed to overawe the spirit of their adversaries. Timid Protestants were encouraged by the noble constancy displayed among their friends. Moderate Romanists were ashamed of their spiritual guides. The mass of men, who live in stupid for-

sist. That such a relation should have been published uncontradictedly within a very few years of the time assigned to the circumstances, is utterly incredible, and so it would have appeared even to the bulk of such readers as are satisfied with Persons, if that author had named the individuals alleged to have been present at the fact. Tomkins was burnt in Smithfield on the 16th of March. Foxe, 1395.

[l] Burnt at Braintree, in Essex, on the 28th of March. He was a butcher by trade. Ibid. 1402, 1389.

[m] Burnt at Maldon, in Essex, on the 28th of March. He was a barber by trade.

[n] Burnt at Brentwood, in Essex, on the 26th of March. The parents of this youth lived at Brentwood, being, as it seems, thoroughly weaned from Popery. When he was brought down to die, they prayed of God, that he might persevere unto the end, and his mother expressed herself with exultation in having given birth to a son who was willing to lose his life for Christ's sake. Of this poor lad's end Foxe (1398) has preserved a very artless and affecting account written by his brother, who walked arm-in-arm with him to the place of suffering. He met his death with invincible constancy.

getfulness of God, were aroused from that lethargy of sensuality, covetousness, or vanity, in which they dissipate existence, to reflect upon the principles which could support the human mind tranquil, or even exulting, amidst such frightful agonies. All natives were willing to believe that these abortive, and revolting cruelties were not of English growth, and they charged them upon those foreign counsellors now high in Mary's confidence, whose prejudices had been formed in a country rendered infamous by the Inquisition. As if promptly to wipe away this odium from his countrymen, Alphonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar, of liberal principles, acting as Philip's confessor, preached at court, on the 10th of February, against religious persecution. He severely reprobated the practice of burning men upon account of their opinions, and said, that bishops would vainly search the Scriptures for authority to spill the blood of their flocks. It can hardly be doubted, that such doctrine from such a quarter must have occasioned not only surprise, but also disappointment in many breasts; and it has been supposed, that the Spanish friar's invectives occasioned the persecutors to give themselves a temporary pause [o].

On the 18th of February, a splendid embassy left London for Rome. Upon the Viscount Montague, Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne de-

[o] Foxe, 1389. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 333. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 477. De Castro had published some rational, but free opinions upon the papacy.

volved the humiliating task of personally compromising their country's independence at the papal court. These ambassadors were attended by one hundred and forty horse; their business ostensibly being to thank the Pope for his clemency to England[p]. But Julius lived not to receive the gratification of their arrival, death having surprised him on the 23d of March. Whatever credit he might have gained in earlier life, he forfeited almost entirely during his brief pontificate, and a very slender reputation accompanied him to the tomb[q]. In his place was elected Marcellus Cervini, a cardinal of eminent virtues and abilities, who chose to retain, as Pope, his baptismal name. This excellent man immediately determined to signalise his elevation by carrying into effect some of those reforms which had been long demanded by the universal voice of Europe. But he completely exhausted his strength during the fatiguing ceremonies of Passion-week, and Easter, and on the last day of April a stroke of apoplexy abruptly closed his honourable course[r]. His place was filled, on the 23d of May, by John Peter Carrafa, a learned Neapolitan of noble birth, and advanced age, who was henceforth known as

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 334.

[q] "Morì con tenue riputazione." (Pallavicino, ii. 46.) The Cardinal endeavours at great length to gloss over the character of Julius, but his admissions plainly prove that Pontiff to have been a very contemptible, worthless person, fully deserving of the obloquy which has been heaped upon his memory.

[r] Pallavicino, ii. 49.

Paul IV. Hitherto Carrafa had been remarkable for austerity of manners, and it was generally presumed, that his new dignity would be supported in a severe, inostentatious style. He soon, however, relieved the gayer spirits around him from such gloomy forebodings. "How will your Holiness be served?" asked the steward of his household, shortly after his election. "Like a great prince:" was Paul's vain-glorious reply[s]. Nor in pomp, ambition, turbulence, and nepotism was the new pontiff found at all inferior to the most notorious of his predecessors[t]. The English ambassadors entered

[s] F. Paul, 391. Pallavicino (p. 52) tacitly admits the truth of this anecdote; by declining "to examine every speech of Paul's with tedious minuteness," and by confessing that Pontiff to have been remarkable "for zeal rather than for prudence." "*Noi, senza disaminare con minutezza noiosa ciascun suo detto, possiamo affermare che 'l Carrafa generalmente riuscì, tal pontefice qual fù conosciùto cardinale; cioe di sommo zelo, mà non di perfetta prudenza.*" Nor can the middle clause in this sentence be admitted as correct, in spite of the author's equivocating "*generalmente.*" Cardinal Carrafa not only affected great personal strictness, but he likewise instituted the Theatines, who form a monastic order eminent for strictness. Pope Paul IV. was outdone in parade by no one who had ever filled his chair.

[t] Father Paul relates that this Pontiff was crowned with unusual pomp, and that he affected such a style in all his actions. Pallavicino says nothing as to these charges. Paul's political offences are matters of historical notoriety. The Cardinal thus speaks of his nepotism. "Solo ingannò con lasciarsi affascinare dal troppo amore de' suoi; e incontrògli tali che fomentaronò i suoi difetti, snervarono le sue virtù, e rendettero infausto ed inglorioso il suo pontificato." 52.

Rome, on the 5th of June [u], the day of this haughty pontiff's coronation [x]. Among their papers was a letter of Pole's, which strongly marks the degrading nature of their errand. Henry VIII. had exchanged, under Parliamentary authority, the title of Lord of Ireland, for that of King; and this title had been borne by his successors. This alteration in the royal style had been made, however, since England emancipated herself from Rome, and as, according to the doctrines current in that city, the conferring of royal dignities was a papal privilege [y], it was thought highly probable that the King and Queen of Ireland would receive some sort of a rebuff at the court of his Holiness. In order to guard against this mortification, their Majesties desired Pole's interference. The Legate, accordingly wrote to the reigning Pope, requesting his approbation of the change introduced, of late years, in the royal style of England, so that the princes of that country might call themselves Kings of Ireland, under authority of the Holy See [z]. Before the bearers of

[u] As appears from a papal brief printed by Raynaldi, (No. 28.) Note to Le Courayer's Fr. Transl. of F. Paul, ii. 20.

[x] Lingard, vii. 254.

[y] Pallavicino represents the exercise of this privilege as a matter of so much historical notoriety, that all reasoning upon it is a mere waste of time. "Certo il possesso de' Papi in conferire il titolo regio appare nell' istorie cosí frequente, che 'l referirle ad occasioni accidentali è contra la trita dottrina del filosofo, non avvenire per accidente ciòche avviene spesso." ii. 55.

[z] "Cum superioribus annis Hiberniæ dominium, inducto jam schismate, in regnum fuerit erectum, nunc serenissimi hi Reges,

this epistle reached the place of their destination, the pontiff to whom it was addressed had ceased to breathe. The reigning Pope, however, made no difficulty in acceding to Pole's request. But he did not forget to accompany his compliance by such a display of arrogance as was thoroughly merited by the sovereigns who condescended to ask this boon at his hands, by the Englishman who penned the letter to him, by those who bore it, and by the mercenary legislature which had betrayed its trust in sanctioning such insults upon the country. At a private[a] consistory holden on the 7th of June, Paul "erected Ireland into a kingdom," thereby confirming the title used by Henry VIII. and his successors, "*under pretence of an Act of Parliament*[b]." On the 10th, and again on the 21st of

ob eorum pietatem, cupiunt, ut quemadmodum Sanctit. vestræ et Sedis Apostolicæ authoritate reliqua confirmata sunt quæ per id tempus acta fuerant, ita hanc ipsam erectionem ante suorum oratorum ad Urbem adventum ipsa comprobet, ac denuo, quatenus sit opus, instituat, ne hoc ipsi titulo sine ejusdem Sanctit. vestræ, et istius Sanctæ Sedis authoritate utantur. Itaque mecum egerunt, ut pro munere protectionis apud Sanctit. vestram quod eis placuit mihi deferre, quemadmodum ei ante significandum curavi, hac de re ad ipsam S. V. scriberem, eamque, sicuti facio, ipsorum nomine, id rogarem." Polus Julio P. III. Ep. v. 6.

[a] Pallavicino, ii. 53.

[b] "Ex actis consistorialibus.

"Romæ die vii. mensis Junii, 1555, apud Sanctum Marcum fuit consistorium; in quo, referente reverendissimo Puteo, erexit insulam Hiberniæ, cujus ab eo tempore quo illius dominium per Sedem Apostolicam adepti sunt Reges Angliæ qui pro tempore

June, the English embassy was formally admitted to a consistory, and went through the ceremony of confessing, as crimes needing the papal forgiveness, the various legislative and theological acts by which England had recently shaken off the Pope's yoke, and exposed his traditional creed. These offences were, of course, gladly remitted [c]. But there were other causes of dissatisfaction against England, which Paul was precluded from alleging openly. He could by no means approve of the manner in which estates, once ecclesiastical, had been applied to secular uses; and he was impatient to receive remittances from England, under the name of Peter-pence. In private conferences with the English agents, he inde-

fuerunt, se Dominos tantum nuncupare consueverant, et cujus regium titulum quondam Henricus VIII. postquam ab unitate Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, et obedientia Pontificis Romani secessit, *prætextu cujusdam legis per Parliamentum ejusdem insulæ, ut prætenditur*, latæ primo, et deinde ejus natus Edvardus VI. eorum nominum, qui dum viverent pro regibus Angliæ se gesserunt, de facto usurpaverant, in regnum ad instar aliarum insularum regio titulo, dignitate, et honore fulgentium, sine præjudicio jurium S. R. E. et cujuscunque alterius in ea, vel ad illam jus habere prætendentis, ac attenta dignitate, juribus, insignibus regiis, quibus alia Christifidelium regna utuntur, insignivit et decoravit." Inter Ep. Pol. v. 136.

[c] Pallavicino, ii. 53. The reason why these absurd and degrading ceremonies were gone through by the ambassadors upon two several occasions, was the arrival at Rome of new credentials addressed to the reigning Pope. Viscount Montague bore no part in this second submission: he had set off, on his return to England, previously to it. Bp. Thirlby did not long continue at Rome; on his departure Sir Edward Carne remained as English resident.

clared repeatedly, that alienations of ecclesiastical property were absolutely void, and that they rendered all concerned in them obnoxious to the curse of heaven. Upon the subject of Peter-pence, he asserted himself to have been much edified in England, many years ago, in observing the alacrity with which even the poorest people paid that impost; and he added, that St. Peter could scarcely be expected to open the gates of everlasting life to such as usurped his revenues upon earth. By way of confirming these communications, Paul issued, on the 12th of July, a bull revoking generally all alienations of ecclesiastical property. This instrument makes no mention of England expressly, but it pronounces null and void, "in the plenitude of the apostolical power," all arrangements whatever injurious to the temporal interests of the Roman Church [d].

Its renewed subjection to this intolerant and encroaching Church daily spread grief and horror over the English nation. The surprise occasioned by De Castro's discourse against persecution was yet fresh in the public mind, when another victim of note left his London dungeon for immolation in a distant country. Robert Ferrar was a Yorkshireman, born within the vicarage of Halifax [e], the bounds of which

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 4. This bull is a strong confirmation of what Father Paul (392) has related respecting the Pope's private conversations with the English ambassadors. Pallavicino is wholly silent upon this subject, which he certainly would not have been, if he could have fastened the slightest imputation of inaccuracy upon the statement of Sarpi.

[e] Godwin, de Præsul. 585, note. Bishop Ferrar was probably

are so extensive, that they enclose a district rather than a parish[f]. Having partly received his academical education at Cambridge, he left that University for a seminary belonging to the canons regular of St. Austin, at Oxford. Into this order he entered when a young man[g], and he soon became eminent for his learning and piety[h]. He was the last prior of Nostel, in Yorkshire, surrendering that house in 1540, and receiving as a provision an annual pension of 100*l*[i]. Probably he was resident at Nostel when he accompanied Bishop Barlow to Scotland, in 1535, on an embassy meant to enlighten the mind of James V. as to the propriety of emancipating himself from Rome[k]. Another proof of Ferrar's reputation is drawn from the patronage of Archbishop Cranmer, who selected him for his chaplain. While in this situation, it is thought, he privately married[l]. Soon after King Edward's accession, he was appointed to

born at Ewood, near Halifax, where lived a gentleman's family of his name, in the reign of Henry VIII. (Watson's Hist. of Halifax, Lond. 1775, p. 244.) His name was, as usual, differently spelt, being written Farrer, Feror, Ferrowr, and Ferrar. The last spelling appears to be the best, as being nearest to the roots *ferrier*, and *ferrarius*. Families distinguished by this name bear horse-shoes in their arms.

[f] The parish of Halifax is about as large as Rutlandshire, or perhaps it is even larger than that county. Watson's Halifax, 1.

[g] Watson's Halifax, 468.

[h] Godwin, de Præsul. 585.

[i] Browne Willis's St. David's, cited by Watson, *ubi supra*.

[k] Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. ii. 81. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 262.

[l] Watson's Halifax, *ubi supra*.

attend, as English preacher, the royal commissioners charged with visiting Wales, and the bordering dioceses [m]. He now became chaplain to the Protector Somerset, and, by that nobleman's interest, he was advanced to the see of St. David's [n]. Nothing could be more unfortunate to him than this preferment. His good qualities appear to have been alloyed by an intractable disposition: hence, if his conscience admitted the integrity of his aims, he stopped not to consider whether his means were discreetly chosen [o]. This temperament generally renders men unfit for leading situations, and it was particularly unsuited to the circumstances in which Bishop Ferrar found himself placed on arriving in Wales. Among the evils calling for his interference were certain irregularities committed by members of the chapter of St. David's. Plate, jewels, and other valuable property, used in the exploded Popish service, had been appropriated by Young [p], the chanter of that church, and

[m] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. iii. 52.

[n] Consecrated September 9, 1548. Godwin, de Præsul. 585, note.

[o] "Homo rigidus, et moribus aliquanto incomptior, quod multum illi molestiæ peperit, Edvardo adhuc regnante." (Godwin, Annal. 125.) "A man he was of an unsociable disposition, rigidly self-willed, and one who looked for more observance than his place required, which drew him into great dislike with most of his clergy, with none more than the canons of his own cathedral." Heylin, Hist. Ref. 120.

[p] Thomas Young, who was consecrated to the see of St. David's, in 1559, and translated to the archiepiscopal see of York, in the following year. Godwin, de Præsul. 586. 710.

Meyrick [q], one of the residentiaries, in a manner which demanded enquiry at least, perhaps also reprehension [r]. Ferrar appears to have assumed towards these clergymen something of a menacing air [s]. This failing of its object, he determined upon visiting the chapter of St. David's. He was now resisted as infringing the privileges of that church. Irritated by this obstacle, he rashly undertook to dismiss his opponents from their offices. A malicious and vexatious conspiracy was immediately organized against him, highly unworthy of some individuals implicated in it, however just might be their causes of dissatisfaction [t]. Hugh Rawlins, a clergyman well beneficed, of light and suspicious habits [u], and

[q] Rowland Meyrick, who was consecrated to the see of Bangor in 1559. Ibid. 627.

[r] Bp. Ferrar in his own vindication, from a Foxian MS. entitled *Adversaries principal against Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's*. Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 355.

[s] The Bishop says of these persons, that he "first with gentleness sought their reformation, whereunto they would nowise incline; and thinking then to fear them with the law, as the father doth fear the children with shaking the rod, to make them obedient, (through which attempt they became worse;) and so he at last put them out of office." Ibid.

[t] As both Young and Meyrick afterwards rose to distinguished preferments in the reformed Anglican Church, and Constantine, registrar of the diocese of St. David's, another of Bp. Ferrar's principal adversaries, was a zealous Protestant; it was suggested to Foxe, that he ought, in prudence, to suppress his information relative to the part taken by these persons in this affair. The honest martyrologist, however, very properly followed not this advice. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 430.

[u] The following is Bp. Ferrar's own description of Rawlins, in

Thomas Lee, a bankrupt trader, presented, with the privity and encouragement of Young, Meyrick, and Constantine, a memorial to the privy council, in which fifty-six allegations were brought against Bishop Ferrar. In this paper he was charged with abuse of authority, maintenance of superstition, avarice, wilful negligence, and folly. Nothing can be more frivolous than this multifarious mass of accusation, or more satisfactory, in a moral point of view, than Ferrar's answers to it. Unhappily for

his bill of exceptions: "The said Rawlins hath four or five benefices, above the value of 200 marks a year, and is resident upon none of them, but spendeth his living to the hindrance of other men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro, without either man or boy waiting on him, more like a light person, than a man of such livelihood, and of his vocation, being a preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd fellow of all that know his behaviour; insomuch that when a certain man objected to the adversaries, that it was ill done to put so lewd a fellow as Rawlins to promote their cause, they answered and reported his honesty in these words, *We know Rawlins to be a very knave, and so meet for no purpose, as he is to set forward such a matter*: of which report there is sufficient witness." (Foxe, 1408.) In the royal visitation, which employed Ferrar as English preacher, one Hugh Rawlins was assigned to the same circuit as Welch preacher. If this clergyman were Ferrar's adversary at St. David's, which appears highly probable from his preferments and his designation as "a preacher," the characters of the two men will account for the hostility of Rawlins. That the Bishop's accuser was a specious man, at bottom frivolous and dissipated, there can be no doubt. Ferrar was in the highest degree strict and unbending. Two such men could not come into daily contact with each other without the engenderment of hatred on the one hand, contempt on the other.

him, however, he had, either by negligence or contempt of forms, laid himself under the lash of existing laws. Some of his commissions appear to have been worded in a defective manner, the royal supremacy not being set forth in them in such terms exactly as parliamentary statutes enjoined. His chancellor had drawn these instruments, and the Bishop admits, that he was not certain as to their strict accuracy in point of form. Upon this difficulty his enemies fastened, representing their diocesan as a prelate who pretended to derive his episcopal jurisdiction from a foreign usurped authority, not from the prerogatives of his native prince. Thus to charge a leaning towards the papal pretensions upon a man of Ferrar's known principles was a monstrous act of injustice; but it is probable, that his confidential officer really had afforded some sort of colour for it, and his adversaries would not relinquish their hold. Proceedings, accordingly, were instituted, intended to bring him under the penalties of a *præmunire*. These ruined his affairs irretrievably. The charge, indeed, was never brought to an issue, but in preparing for his defence, he fell into embarrassments which incapacitated him from remitting into the royal exchequer, at the proper time, some subsidies and other payments due from the clergy of his diocese. He was now thrown into prison, and his case became hopeless from the want of powerful friends. His patron Somerset had fallen, and Cranmer appears either to have been an indifferent spectator of his misfortunes, or incapable of

aiding him[x]. On Mary's accession he was in prison. No pretext, therefore, existed for charging him with political offences; nor, indeed, does he seem ever to have broken through his obscurity, unless when he signed, in common with other Protestant prisoners of eminence, the paper defining their tenets, and refusing the proposed disputation at Cambridge.

Ferrar's inactivity, however, during the present reign, afforded him no protection; he being among those who were brought before Gardiner, at St. Mary Overy's, to answer for their opinions. The Chancellor treated him with the most unfeeling coarseness, receiving his plea of ignorance as to Pole's arrival and mission, as if it had been the impudent pretence of some vile impostor. He was then charged with defrauding the royal exchequer, and told, that notwithstanding, her Majesty would be favourable to him, if only he would return to the Catholic Church. Ferrar answered, that no person could prove against him the peculation of a single penny; and that having once sworn to renounce the Bishop of Rome, he could not now promise to ac-

[x] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 263. The biographer has, however, to offer as to Cranmer's feelings respecting Ferrar little better than mere surmise. Probably, nothing but the crown's especial clemency, or an act of indemnity could have effectually relieved the unfortunate Bishop of St. David's. The succession of factious intrigues which occupied Edward's interested courtiers is a sufficient reason why neither of these remedies was applied to the necessities of a powerless man. Cranmer, possibly, might be lukewarm in Ferrar's case, because he could not wholly acquit that prelate of indiscretion, and because he found him intractable.

knowledge his pretensions. He was then told, that he had broken his vow to live without a wife. Ferrar answered, that he never made any such vow; that he had, indeed, engaged to live chaste, but that such engagement did not preclude him from marrying. Gardiner said: "You are a froward knave, and we will have no more to do with you. We will be short with you, as you shall know within this se'night." The prisoner replied; "I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath, which your Lordship yourself made before me, and gave me an example; the which confirmed my conscience. That oath can I never break, whilst I live to die for it." Such a resolute display of honesty seems to have rendered even Tunstall impatient; for he said; "Well, he standeth upon his oath. Call another." The Chancellor then rang a little bell, and Ferrar was led away, saying as he departed, "I pray God to save the King and Queen's Majesties, and all your honours." He was not, however, called again before this tribunal, being sent down into Wales uncondemned, on the 14th of February [7]. On the 26th

[7] After mentioning de Gastro's sermon at court on the 10th of February, Dr. Lingard continues: "It made, however, a deep impression; the execution of the prisoners was suspended; and five weeks elapsed before the advocates of severity could obtain permission to rekindle the fires of Smithfield. *It is not improbable* that the revival of the persecution was provoked by the excesses which were at this time committed by the fanaticism of some among the gospellers, and by the detection of a new conspiracy, which had been organised in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk." (vii. 265.) For these "excesses of the gospellers" the reader is referred to Strype, pp. 210. 212.

of that month, he was brought before Henry Morgan, the Bishop of St. David's, in the church of Caermarthen, and required to answer certain interrogatories. This he refused, as having seen no lawful commission on the part of Morgan. This refusal being repeated upon the same ground, on the last day of the month, Ferrar was pronounced contumacious, and was told that he would be treated as having confessed the heresies imputed to him. Four days afterwards he was brought up again, and he then

The former of these pages relates, that a statue of Archbishop Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, as Romanists ridiculously call him, was placed over the gate of Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside, on the 14th of February. In the second night afterwards, two of the figure's fingers were broken off. On the following night the neck and crosier were mutilated. The figure being repaired, was deprived of its head and arms on the 14th of March. On the 14th of February, Bishop Ferrar left London, probably long before Becket's image was set up. Strype's 212th page relates the insane outrage committed by Flower, on the 14th of April. This, therefore, could certainly have nothing to do with the revival of the persecution. In fact, the persecution cannot be said to have ever ceased. For Bishop Ferrar's departure from town followed closely upon the first martyrdoms, and his death took place as soon as the necessary forms, and his appeal to Cardinal Pole, would allow. The conspiracy to which Dr. Lingard alludes, appears to have been very obscure and unimportant. Nor is it likely that it was detected before Bishop Ferrar was sent into Wales; for the diarist in Strype (Eccl. Mem. iii. 335.) informs us that three gentlemen implicated in it were brought out of Cambridgeshire to the Tower, on the 18th of March. Probably the sole reason why some of the parties condemned early in February received a respite for a short time, was merely a desire to see whether the burning of individuals who held their opinions would shake their resolution.

said, that he would return an answer to such questions as might be submitted to him, if they were given in writing, and a sufficient time were allowed to him. These demands being granted, his assent was required to the following six propositions. 1. The unlawfulness of marriage in priests. 2. Transubstantiation. 3. That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. 4. That general councils lawfully congregated never erred, and never can err. 5. That men are not justified by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessary to their justification. 6. That the Catholic Church, which alone hath authority to expound Scripture, decide controversies, and regulate ecclesiastical discipline, is visible, and like a city set upon a hill, which all men may perceive. To these articles Ferrar absolutely refused his assent, saying that they were all excogitated by man, and pertained nothing to the Catholic faith. Persisting in this refusal, he was excommunicated, and degraded from the priesthood, on the 14th of March; when he appealed to Cardinal Pole. This appeal, probably, procured for him a short respite from death; for he did not suffer until the 30th of March. He was burnt in the market-place of Caermarthen, exhibiting to the last that unshrinking constancy for which his whole life appears to have been remarkable. Within a few days of his death, a young gentleman named Jones expressed much concern on account of the painful fate reserved for him. "If you see me once stir, while I am in the flames," said Ferrar, "then give no credit to my doctrine." The martyr afforded

that confirmation to his principles which these words led his visitor to expect. He took his station upon the pyre with outstretched arms, and his position continued immoveably the same, even after his hands had dropped off. At length a spectator, in pity, probably, for his sufferings, struck a violent blow upon his head, and he fell instantly lifeless into the blazing mass [z].

[z] Foxe, 1413. In order to vindicate completely Bishop Ferrar's integrity with respect to the crown's claims upon him, nothing more is required than the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the Lord Chancellor Goodrich: "As touching the certificate, the King's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay both to my vice-collector, and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions; not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed unto me in the King's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiaries for their dividend; who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the King's Majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place." (Foxe, 1414.) This difficulty, therefore, like all Ferrar's other troubles, arose from his unhappy quarrel with the chapter of his cathedral. The crown looked to him for a gross sum due from this body. He was, however, unable to collect more than a part of the money, and he could effect no satisfactory arrangements as to the remainder. His own resources were, probably, unequal to the advance of such a sum as the case required, and men of his temper will rarely stoop to any expedients, however allowable. It should perhaps be added, that Persons utters not a word of suspicion against Bp. Ferrar's integrity. Any thing very decisive certainly is not to be inferred from the silence of that notorious Jesuit; for although he has undertaken to follow Foxe step by step, he is more intent upon lowering the characters of the martyrs by

On the 14th of April, being Easter-day, an incident occurred which brought temporary discredit upon the Reformation. As a priest was administering the Eucharist in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, a man drew a hanger, and wounded him upon the head, hand, and other parts of his body. The offender, being immediately apprehended, proved to be a person named William Flower, *alias* Branch. This unhappy man had been, in his youth, a monk in the monastery of Ely, and he had there entered into priests' orders. Having embraced, however, the monastic life unwillingly, he gladly quitted it, when King Henry's visitors came to his house, and he assumed immediately the habit of a secular priest. He then obtained a livelihood partly by officiating as a clergyman, partly by teaching children the first rudiments of learning in different villages of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. He seems to have imbibed, at an early period of his life, an aversion for popery, and on the passing of the infamous act of Six Articles, he withdrew to Tewksbury. In that place he married, and he subsequently practised medicine in Gloucestershire. He did not, however, long remain in that part of England, but removed first into Northamptonshire, then into his native county of Cambridge, and afterwards into Essex,

libellous and indelicate buffoonery, than upon examining their cases critically. Upon the whole, however, it appears manifest enough, that Bp. Ferrar, though imprisoned under the rule of his own party, and in fact abandoned to his fate without any friendly interference, so far as we can see, was a man of unsullied reputation, as well as of unshaken constancy.

subsisting generally as an instructor of youth. At last he hired a house at Lambeth, but it seems rather to have been for the accommodation of his family than of himself, he being most commonly away from home. It is far from improbable, that the horrid proceedings of the present year had given an unusual energy to the morbid temperament of this roving and impatient enthusiast. For on Easter-day he repaired early to St. Paul's, intending to assault some one of the officiating ministers. In that cathedral either his courage failed him, or what is more likely, some sudden impulse diverted him from his purpose. But although he left, unstained in reputation, the scene originally marked out for his mad enterprise, his heated imagination would not allow him quietly to return home. He fancied himself called by the Spirit to rebuke, in some signal manner, the idolatrous usages which were spreading contamination all around him, and to offer himself as a martyr to the truth. While haunted by these gloomy delusions, he passed the Gate-house, in Westminster, and giving two groats to the prisoners there, he said, "I shall very soon come among you myself." His outrage at St. Margaret's having realised this anticipation, he remained in that prison, heavily ironed, until towards the end of the week; when he was brought before Bishop Boner, upon a charge of heresy. So little was he disposed to evade this kind of responsibility, that he had purposely left his house provided with a written statement of his opinions; in order, that if instant death had followed his meditated assault, evidence might be found upon his per-

son to shew the nature of his principles. He now denied transubstantiation unhesitatingly, and upon this ground he was doomed to the death which his insane fanaticism had courted. On the 24th of April he was brought to the stake without St. Margaret's church-yard, Westminster; his right hand being stricken off before the fire was kindled, as an especial punishment for his violence in the neighbouring church. He bore this preliminary torture with unshrinking firmness, shewing no sense of it except by a slight contraction of the shoulders. Nor, although his agonies were shamefully protracted and aggravated by an unpardonable deficiency in the fuel provided for his burning, did he discover the least impatience: on the contrary, he met his end with fervent piety and heroic resolution. His conduct in St. Margaret's church occasioned general concern and offence among the Protestant party. It was, however, nothing more than the act of a lunatic, and Flower himself admitted to Bp. Boner, that he had been hurried by his zeal into an excess, which he regretted, as being wicked and pernicious[a].

On the day in which this maniacal enthusiast forfeited his life, a clergyman received the crown of martyrdom at Chester. The sufferer's name was George Marsh; his original calling was agriculture. Having married at about the age of twenty-five, he hired a farm in his native county of Lancaster, and maintained himself for several years by the cultiva-

[a] Foxe, 1433.

tion of it. At length his wife died [b], leaving him several children; and he then entered himself in the

[b] It does not appear that Marsh married again; in fact the contrary must be inferred from his remains, in which no mention is made of a wife among his friends. He was, therefore, in the same condition, as to matrimony, with Cardinal Campeggio, and with numerous other Romish dignitaries; that is, he had married, and had a family, before he took holy orders. Persons, however, whose object it is to represent that marriage, or "the having of women," as he coarsely expresses himself, was the sole object with Romish priests in embracing a scriptural faith, thus manages to conceal Marsh's real condition from careless readers of the *Three Conversions*. "Marsh was indeed but a common minister, made of a husbandman, or labourer of the fields, in the parish of Dean, in Lancashire; *and there had wife and children*, as Foxe confesseth. And when afterward he came unto the highest ecclesiastical state, he was but a curate, under the foresaid married priest, Laurence Saunders." Afterwards the Jesuistic commentator says, "So this *fellow*, being first but a husbandman, and then a minister, and under-curate." (Three Conv. ii. 422.) Superficial readers, contented with knowing just so much of English history as Romish partizans are willing to inform them, would naturally conclude from these words, that Marsh was originally a common labourer, who, being smitten by fanaticism, became a preacher, and lived as such with his wife. Now the facts really are, that he was a farmer, who did not take orders until after the loss of his wife, nor until he had studied at Cambridge. Of this last particular, in his history, Persons says nothing.

It may perhaps be thought needless to take any notice of such an author as Persons. But the truth is, that modern English Romanists make great use of him, as well as of Sanders. They suppress the more monstrous and offensive statements recorded by these headlong partizans, and dress up for present use such of their matter as would be likely to pass without much animadversion. It becomes, therefore, necessary to expose these early Ro-

University of Cambridge, with a view to the sacred profession. Having taken holy orders, he became the curate of Church Langton, in Leicestershire, under Laurence Saunders. Like his rector, Marsh cowered at first before the rising storm of persecution; and, on retiring from his curacy among his friends in Lancashire, the impulse of his mind led him to exile in either Denmark or Germany. At last, after a severe conflict with his love of life and of his family, he determined neither to flee, nor to cease from inculcating his opinions. This resolve speedily consigned him to the merciless grasp of persecution; the Earl of Derby, a nobleman who had constantly withstood, as a lord of Parliament, King Edward's reforms, taking the lead in this hateful work. From the bigotted peer Marsh was transferred to Bishop Cotes, of Chester, and by him he was condemned as a disbeliever in transubstantiation. He had endeavoured to evade the particular declaration of his sentiments upon this tenet, but his iniquitous oppressors would not rest until they had extracted from him sufficient for his condemnation. When fastened to the stake, a barrel of pitch was suspended over his head, it may be hoped, with a view to shorten his

mish authorities in all their native deformity. This exposure is indeed important even in an historical point of view. Englishmen are often astonished that any considerable portion of their ancestors could have clung to a religion so palpably absurd, and utterly baseless, as is Popery. If, however, men are so blinded by prejudice, or party, that they are satisfied with such historians as Persons and Sanders, their continuance under any delusion is intelligible enough.

sufferings. It had, however, an opposite effect; for an insufficient supply of fuel being provided, the martyr's agonies were frightfully protracted, and the bituminous matter, slowly melting above him, lent unusual horrors to the scene. At length the object seen amidst the flames had lost all semblance of the human form, and every feeling spectator gladly believed that death had come to the sufferer's relief; but this anticipation was miserably belied. Long after consciousness appeared to have fled, the victim, by a dying effort, spread abroad his arms, and exclaiming, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me," he yielded up his breath[c].

Intelligence of these atrocities having reached the continent, it filled the pious exiles with grief and amazement. In the hope of stemming the sanguinary torrent, they printed, accordingly, an address to the Queen and nation. In this piece, Mary was exhorted to beware of being led away by a blind zeal, as St. Paul was before his conversion; and she was reminded of services rendered to her by the Protestants, especially by Cranmer. As a reason for distrusting either the soundness of her principles, or the honesty of her advisers, the Queen's attention was requested to a copious collection of passages in confutation of the papal pretensions, heretofore published by Gardiner, Boner, and Tunstall. She was also intreated to recollect, that even the Turks allow Christians to reside in their states, notwithstanding the invincible discrepancy which exists between the

[c] Foxe, 1423.

Gospel and the Koran. The tract then proceeded to awaken the fears of the landed interest, by adverting to the noble properties now become lay fees, but lately possessed by ecclesiastical corporations. The nation at large was earnestly admonished to flee from iniquity with speed and sincerity, that thus the wrath of heaven might be propitiated, and a season which filled the country with astonishment and mourning might quickly reach its termination. In reply to this address, a piece was published advocating the cause of persecution. The Mosaic law, it was said, awarded capital punishment against blasphemers, and persons were justly so designated who called our Lord's body in the Eucharist a piece of bread. Heathens also, it was urged, from zeal for a false religion, persecuted Christians; much more then ought these to signalise their affection for their own true religion, by the punishment of its foes. Our Lord, it was observed, in one of his parables, uses the phrase, "Compel them to come in [d];" and St. Paul says, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you [e]." St. Peter struck Ananias and Sapphira dead, and St. Austin was brought to approve the penalty of death in the case of the Donatists. Another argument in favour of persecution was drawn from the conduct of the Protestants themselves, who burnt heretics while they were in power; and it was added, the persons burnt at that time, encountered death with

[d] St. Luke, xiv. 23.
[e] Gal. v. 12.

no less constancy than had been displayed by the recent sufferers [f].

Nothing was more evident than the determination of the government to act upon the principles advocated in this piece. On the 25th of March a royal circular was addressed to the magistracy of the different counties, enjoining a most intolerable system of bigotted tyranny. These local authorities were directed to distribute themselves into ten or twelve committees, according to the extent of their respective counties, and upon each of these committees was to devolve the especial care of a particular district. Observation was to be made of such individuals as absented themselves from their churches, and if admonition were found ineffectual, these absentees were to be reprimanded, bound in securities, or imprisoned. Especial severity was to be used against preachers and teachers of Protestantism, and against procurers of secret meetings of Protestants. Provision was to be made for the punishment of those who spread false tales and seditious rumours, also for that of vagabonds, and of disorderly persons of every kind. Amidst these regulations stands the following article: "*Item.* They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men, *secretly instructed to give information* of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst, nigh, or about them[g]." The next article joins *honest* and *Catholic*

[f] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 480.

[g] Ibid. Records, 390.

together, and no doubt these two were deemed convertible terms by the approvers of this circular. The whole plan, therefore, resolves itself into a design to set up a species of Inquisition in all parts of the kingdom, and to furnish every parish with one or more concealed spies, who were to betray their unsuspecting neighbours into the fangs of this horrid tribunal[h]. It might seem as if this display of intolerant despotism was no sooner approved, than it was thought, in prudence, to need some sort of quali-

[h] "The magistrates received instructions to watch over the public peace in their respective districts; to apprehend the propagators of seditious reports, the preachers of erroneous doctrine, the procurers of secret meetings" (for religious purposes, it is expressly said, no others being even hinted at) "and those vagabonds, who had no visible means of subsistence; to try, by virtue of a commission of oyer and terminer, the prisoners charged with murder, felony, and other civil offences; and with respect to those accused of heresy, to reform them by admonitions, but if they continued obstinate, to send them before the ordinary, that *they might, by charitable instruction, be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf.*" (Lingard, vii. 266.) By the term "vagabonds" in this order, there is reason to believe, such persons principally were meant, as went about the country with Protestant tracts, and with a view to confirm the people verbally in a scriptural faith. The whole document obviously relates to religion, and it has, accordingly, been generally treated by historians as little else than a preliminary to the establishment of a regular inquisition. Dr. Lingard has supplied a note to repel such an imputation upon this order, but if he had not suppressed all mention of the clause which directs an organised system of espionage, even the more rational of his Romish readers would have been likely to confess that the judgment of Protestant historians as to the inquisitorial character of this circular is sufficiently fair.

fication. For within two days of its date, another circular was issued to the magistracy, headed with the names of the King and Queen, and confirming, in a general manner, the instructions already given, but placing the necessity for them upon grounds almost entirely political[1]. It looks, however, as if the government had over-rated the good qualities of the justices. A large proportion of them cordially executed the hateful task imposed upon them. Of political delinquency little or nothing, indeed, appears to have been discovered, nor have we any reason to believe that England's criminal police was now rendered unusually effective. But the prisons became every day more and more crowded with inmates who passed for heretics. The bishops were confounded by the numbers who awaited their mandates for the stake, and eagerly availed themselves of any subterfuge by which they could escape from pronouncing these revolting sentences. The sanguinary fanaticism which guided the helm of state immediately took alarm at this lukewarmness in its chosen instruments. Those who have wealth at their disposal, and are likely to encounter no effectual opposition in their aims, rarely want agents or advisers in any designs, however base or guilty. The deluded individuals, accordingly, who now were daily crimsoning the throne of England with a deeper stain of innocent blood, had not the mortification of looking long among their courtiers for a counsellor agreeable to their wishes. The lord

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 339.

treasurer, William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester[k], a statesman eminent for accommodating his politics to his interest, recommended that a circular letter of admonition, or rather of rebuke, should be directed from the crown to the prelacy, expressing the "no little marvel" of their Majesties, that ordinaries should dismiss individuals whom magistrates had consigned to their correction[l]. This admonitory communication immediately revived the deadening energies of Bishop Boner. In his diocese was fixed the principal seat of population; it comprised also an extensive rural district, which in common with the other eastern counties, had extensively embraced a scriptural faith. Prisoners from other parts of England were likewise detained in London, and

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 345.

[l] This infamous circular is printed at length by Bishop Burnet, (Records, ii. 391,) from that copy of it which was sent to Boner. From this circumstance it has commonly been supposed, that the Bishop of London alone received this admonition. Dr. Lingard (vii. 266.) has adopted this popular notion, and he has built upon it a note exculpatory of Boner, as being incited to his disgraceful career of cruelty, *not* by his own disposition, but by the mandates of superior authority. Strype, however, (Eccl. Mem. iii. 345.) says that a letter, of which he gives an extract, and which extract forms a part of the letter to Boner, was addressed generally to the episcopal bench, and the letter bears internal evidence to the correctness of this statement. Boner's reputation therefore remains exactly where it was. He might, indeed, have drawn back for a little space from the horrid employment expected from him; but having received a rebuke from court, he resumed his sanguinary avocations with a degree of zeal which no other prelate displayed. The letter addressed to the prelacy upon this occasion bears date May 24.

were thus considered as holding heretical opinions within Boner's jurisdiction. In disposing of these numerous cases, that unhappy prelate now went recklessly forward, nor did his activity relax until the sun of persecution had ceased to shed its lurid beams over England. The great pretence for this miserable carnage was a denial of transubstantiation. A disbelief of other Romish tenets might be dissembled, or explained away. But the papal priesthood, wherever it is dominant, obtrudes upon the public eye, at every turn, this leading doctrine. Zealous opponents of it are, therefore, certain of detection in a community of Romanists, and their consciences will not readily allow any disguise or equivocation in a question involving so many principles of the last importance.

In the spring of this year, public expectation was generally fixed upon the Queen's imaginary pregnancy. At intervals, rumours flew abroad that she was actually delivered; and Hopton, Bishop of Norwich was so persuaded of this, at the beginning of May, that he caused *Te Deum* to be sung in his cathedral, and in other churches of the city, as a joyous celebration of the great event[m]. Nor when it was found, that Mary had disappointed her friends, did they lay aside their hopes. They merely considered their impatience to have been mocked by a premature report, and they doubted not that the zealous restorer of English

[m] The Bishop of Norwich to the Earl of Sussex, dated May 3, 1553. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Append. 968.

Romanism was the destined mother of a royal line, contented to rule in strict alliance with the papal see. Food for these anticipations was abundantly supplied at court. Midwives, nurses, and rockers were appointed [n]. On the 16th of May, some persons of high rank were nominated, with suitable emoluments, as ambassadors extraordinary to announce the birth of the expected heir at the principal foreign courts [o]. On the 23d of the same month an order of council enjoined "the Lord Treasurer to cause preparation to be made of such money as is appointed for such persons as shall carry the joyful tidings of the Queen's Majesty's good delivery to divers princes, so as they be not driven to tarry for the same, when the time shall come [p]." This decisive step allowed none to doubt that their sovereign was upon the point of realizing their expectations, and at the beginning of June, it was universally believed in London that she had given birth to a prince. Immediately the bells rang, bonfires blazed, processions were arranged, and *Te Deum* was chanted [q]. This, however, proved a final disappointment to the Romish party. A general opinion

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 527.

[o] Proceedings of Privy Council, 52.

[p] Ibid. 60.

[q] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 527. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 488. It appears, that the Romanists commonly appealed to the Queen's pregnancy, as a proof of God's favour towards their doctrine: saying, among other things of a like kind: "How hath God blessed our Queen with fruit of womb." Bradford to his fellow-sufferers. Letters of the Martyrs, 439.

now prevailed, that there was very little probability of issue from the Queen, and Philip, accordingly, finding few inducements for prolonging his stay in England, sailed for Flanders, in the beginning of September [r].

Amidst her exulting anticipations of an heir, Mary did not forget to scatter disgust and misery among her people [s]. On the 30th of May, John Cardmaker, *alias* Taylor, lately Chancellor of Wells, and vicar of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, London, together with John Warne, an upholsterer, in Walbrook, expired in the flames of Smithfield. Cardmaker, when under age, had become a friar among the Franciscan Observants. He seems to have married in King Edward's reign [t], and being known for his zeal and ability as a teacher of scriptural truth, he was then appointed reader at St.

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 489.

[s] There is even reason to believe, that this unhappy princess was stimulated in her unfeeling career by her imaginary situation. It is asserted in a letter from Peter Martyr, that she thought and said, "she could not be safely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could proceed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt to a man." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 528.

[t] This appears from Cardmaker's answer to the article in which he was charged with breaking his vow by marriage. "To the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of the realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the Church of the same." (Foxe, 1434.) A man who had been a professed friar, and who had married before King Henry's death, could scarcely use this language with strict accuracy.

Paul's. In this office he gave violent offence to the Romish party, but his doctrine was approved on the other side, and accordingly, he obtained preferment. Soon after Queen Mary's accession, he was sent up to London in custody, together with his diocesan Bishop Barlow; and he was, in common with many others, detained in prison until the Parliament had basely consented to unsheath the sword of persecution. Cardmaker was among the prisoners brought before the commissioners at St. Mary Overy's; when both he and Barlow answered in such a manner as to encourage a general expectation that they would recant [u]. Cardmaker, however, was careful

[u] The following extract from the judiciary acts of January 28, exhibits the nature of Cardmaker's submission. "To him then did the Bishop of Winton repeat the counsel he lately gave him in the presence of some of the Privy Council, for the reduction of him to the unity of the Catholic Church, which Cardmaker then refused to do. Now the Bishop again asked him, whether he would from his heart, and from an humble spirit, submit himself, and arise from his former spot of heresy; signifying to him, that if he would, he should be freely received. In consequence whereunto, the said John Cardmaker humbly submitted himself, as it appeared, promising willingly to yield to such things which should be appointed him by my Lord, in this behalf. Then my Lord kindly admitted his submission, together with the congratulation of all that were present, and it was entered into the acts of the day." (Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 432.) Cardmaker, probably, professed himself willing to receive instruction; for he was visited in the course of the spring by several eminent clergymen of Romish principles. Bishop Barlow seems either in court, or afterwards in prison, to have made some farther submission, for he was allowed to pass over into Germany; where he remained until Mary's death.

to commit himself as to no point of doctrine[x], nor was it subsequently found possible to bring about his relapse into Romanism. He was, therefore, condemned as an impugner of transubstantiation[y].

[x] The following are his own words in a letter to a friend. "You shall right well perceive, that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. *That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of deaths*, the Lord being mine assistance, as I doubt not but he will." Foxe, 1436.

[y] The article upon this tenet proposed to him was the following. *Item:* "That Christ at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his Apostles, and saying, *Take, eat; this is my body*, did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidences thereof." Cardmaker's reply is: "He answereth and doth believe, *viz.* That it is true, that is to say, that Christ taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, *Take, eat; this is my body*, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, *viz. willing that his body*, &c. he answereth that he doth not believe the same to be true." He subsequently thus farther explained himself as to this clause: "Where in my answer to your articles, I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same." But yet farther, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution; so I say, that Christ is spiritually to and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament: so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal pre-

Upon the same ground rested the condemnation of his fellow-sufferer, Warne. This pious artificer was first fastened to the stake; and the fuel was completely arranged around him, while Cardmaker held a long conversation with the sheriffs. The people meanwhile looked on with disappointment, suspecting that he meant to confirm the rumours, long spread abroad, of his insincerity, by declining the fiery trial prepared for him. At length, he turned from the sheriffs, and knelt, for a considerable time, absorbed in prayer, at the edge of the pyre. This confirmed the popular apprehensions of his constancy, and a general whisper ran through the

sence in the sacrament; and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence." (Foxe, 1434.) The following is the comment of Persons upon this matter. "The friar (Cardmaker) did greatly vary also therein (the opinion of Zuingle and Calvin) granting the sacramental and spiritual presence of Christ, and denying only carnal and corporal presence, as appeareth by his schedule written to B. Boner. Which *in effect* is as much as the Catholic faith doth teach, if he had meant sincerely, and not used this equivocal exposition for an heretical shift and evasion." (Three Conv. ii. 470.) Such is the mode in which artful Romanists disguise from superficial observers, willing to be deceived, the revolting absurdities of their creed. They suppress some things, and then assert that what remains amounts *in effect* to their own doctrines. In nothing does this management appear more glaringly and offensively than in the treatment of the Eucharistic question exhibited above. Protestants maintain that the Saviour is mystically present with *faithful* communicants. Romish authorities tell us, that He is *corporally* present with *all* communicants, that he remains thus present in every unused consecrated wafer so long as it resists corruption, and that, therefore, such wafers are entitled to that worship which belongs to God alone.

crowd, that Popery was about to gain a signal triumph. While the spectators generally were musing over this prospect with concern, they saw the martyr strip himself to his shirt, walk up to the stake with dauntless tread, kiss it, and then shake his fellow-sufferer kindly by the hand. A shout of exultation instantly rent the air. As it died away, voices ejaculated on every side; "God be praised: the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker: the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit." Fire was now communicated to the heap, and the victims quickly passed beyond oppression's reach*.

The next conspicuous victim immolated by Romish bigotry and infatuation, was John Bradford. This able, eloquent, and zealous advocate of a scriptural faith was born at Manchester. He received a good education, being well grounded in the Latin language, and thoroughly instructed in accounts. This last accomplishment procured for him an engagement under Sir John Harrington, who was treasurer of the royal camps and buildings. Harrington's confidence in him was unbounded, for he found him active and intelligent in the highest degree, and he was entirely satisfied as to the strictness of his integrity. Unhappily for Bradford's peace, his patron somewhat over-rated here his superiority to temptation; as he appropriated to his own use one hundred and forty pounds belong-

* Foxe, 1434. Warne had been condemned as a disbeliever in transubstantiation, soon after Anne Askew's martyrdom. But he was then pardoned.

ing to the crown. He most probably meant to replace this sum at an early opportunity, and the prevailing habits of peculation might easily persuade a young man, that his act was chargeable with little or no criminality. But the reformed preachers were fast enlightening the public mind as to morals, and the base itch for sordid gain which infected all classes escaped not their admonitory voice. Latimer especially reprobated the vile avarice of his contemporaries, and he repeatedly declared in all the fervour of his homely eloquence, that if men omitted not only to forsake their dishonourable practices, but also to make restitution to those who had suffered by them, infernal torments would be their everlasting portion. In these invectives, the venerable preacher forgot not to include public defaulters; justly warning such offenders, that their peculation was nothing the less guilty because it had been confined to the national purse. Awakened auditors trembled under the weight of these terrible denunciations, and they hastened, either at once, or by instalments, as their circumstances would allow, to place their ill-gotten gains in the holy preacher's hands, begging him to transmit them into the royal exchequer[a]. Bradford being aroused by Latimer's

[a] "At my first preaching of restitution, one good man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the King, and willing he was to make restitution: and so, the first Lent, came to my hands twenty pounds, to be restored to the King's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I

instrumentality, looked with horror and remorse upon his "great thing," as he sorrowfully termed his act of peculation. His agony was rendered more intense by his inability to make instant restitution; and he thought of raising the required sum by selling his services for a stipulated period, or even permanently; as it was not unusual among the ancient Israelites [b]. While racked by these melancholy deliberations, he besought a friend to wait upon Latimer, to bewail, in his name, the dishonourable fact, to state the present impossibility of restitution, and to request an opinion as to the alarmed sinner's intention of selling his body for the purpose of liquidating the claim. While the honest preacher was receiving this gratifying attestation to the effectiveness of his ministerial exertions, his mind was intent upon preparing a sermon for delivery before the King. He said, therefore, little to Bradford's messenger, farther

received it myself, and paid it to the King's council. So I was asked, what he was that thus made restitution? But should I have named him? Nay, they should as soon have this wesant of mine. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds, ten shillings, which I have paid and delivered this present day to the King's council: and so this man hath made a godly restitution. And so, quoth I to a certain nobleman that is one of the King's council, if every man that hath beguiled the King should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the King twenty thousand pounds, I think. Yea, that it would, quoth the other, a whole hundred thousand pounds. Alack, alack! make restitution; ye will cough in hell else, that all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy but restitution open or secret, or else hell." Latimer's Sermons, i. 239.

[b] Levit. xxv. 39.

than that he could not advise an expedient so unusual as the personal sale proposed to his consideration, and that he thought the case submitted to him one which might contentedly be left in the hands of God, who would not fail, in his own good time, to bless such a tender conscience with the means of obtaining the desired relief. Bradford, however, was but imperfectly appeased by this consoling reply. He was haunted by the fear of dying before he could make restitution, and his hours were miserable[c]. At last his employer, Sir John Harrington, consented to satisfy the crown, and to accept his dependent's security for repayment to himself[d]. His peace of

[c] Imperfect letter from a person unknown, but probably from Travers to Bradford. (Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 285, Append.) The pious writer of this consolatory letter was the individual who consulted Latimer, on Bradford's behalf. Bradford himself appears, from what his correspondent says, to have previously laid his case before the venerable preacher. Persons omits to mention this blot upon Bradford's reputation, contenting himself with representing the martyr as a mere "serving-man," who turned preacher after one year's study at Cambridge. Having thus given to the readers, whom his book was intended to delude, reason for believing that Bradford was an ignorant person, who had spent his youth as a domestic servant, the Jesuistic commentator goes on to perplex his admirers by a long rhodomontade about Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists. The object of all this nonsense is, as usual, to persuade the reader, that if he turn his back upon Popery, he will have the mortification to discover that Protestants are not uniform in defining the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

[d] This arrangement was made in May, 1548. Sir John bound himself under his hand to pay the money before Candlemas next ensuing. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 367. Bradford to Travers, Foxe, 1510.

mind being thus happily restored, Bradford immediately took leave of secular pursuits. He had been a student in the Temple, with a view to the practice of the law; but his religious impressions appear to have altered the current of his thoughts, and he resolved upon devoting his future life to the preaching of God's word. He entered, accordingly, at Catharine-hall, in Cambridge, and was thence elected to a fellowship of Pembroke-hall. As his attainments before he went to the University were highly respectable, as his abilities, energy, and industry were at all times conspicuous, he quickly made his way to academic honours. At the termination of a year's residence in Cambridge, that University complimented him with the degree of Master of Arts. Bishop Ridley now ordained him deacon, dispensing in his case with some formality, probably as to habits[e], for which Bradford had conceived a violent repugnance. The prelate also appointed him one of his chaplains, and preferred him to a prebend of St. Paul's. Bradford now rapidly obtained a very high

[e] Foxe does not specify the ground of Bradford's scruples. He merely says: (1456) "Dr. Ridley, that worthy Bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the Church of England, called him to be deacon. Which order, because it was not without some such abuse as to the which Bradford would not consent, the Bishop, yet perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired." Now it is known that exceptions were taken against the Romish habits in 1549, and some such objectors were, notwithstanding, ordained by Abp. Cranmer, and Bp. Ridley. See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 536.

degree of popularity, and Romish prejudices continually gave way under the force of his fervid eloquence [f]. Obnoxious as he thus had necessarily become to Queen Mary's courtiers, it might have been expected that his services in saving the life of Bourn would have disarmed their resentment. They proved, however, intent upon removing by any means an adversary who was known as one of the most eloquent and influential men in London. Hence, as his conduct was blameless; and as his discourses, both immediately after Bourn was driven to close abruptly the offensive sermon, and on the afternoon of the same day, at Bow-church, were levelled against popular licentiousness; his enemies hesitated not to charge him with contriving the tumult which he had appeased. Upon this iniquitous and absurd accusation, within three days of the outrage which Bourn's time-serving indiscretion had provoked at St. Paul's Cross, Bradford was committed to the Tower, and lodged in a dungeon under ground [g]. After spending three quarters of

[f] Bp. Ridley said of him: "He is a man by whom, as I am assuredly informed, God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth his Word." Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 365.

[g] Bradford to W. P. Letters of the Martyrs, 305. Bp. Gardiner said, at St. Mary Overy's, on the 22d of January, that Bradford "had been of long time imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at St. Paul's cross, on the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon himself to preach without authority. *Bradford.* My Lord, and Lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and with humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly; for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, by word or fact, by

a year in that fortress, during which time he was inhibited from the use of pen, ink, and paper, he

preaching, or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the B. of Bath, then M. Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly. At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said Lord Chancellor something snuffed, and spake with an admiration, that there was a loud lie; for, quoth he, the fact was seditious, as you, my Lord of London, can bear witness. *Boner.* You say true, my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to lead and rule the people malapertly, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition. *Bradford.* My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty will reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must, and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall licence you to do unto me. *Gardiner.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten, how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower: whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where thorough worthily hast thou been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of. *Bradford.* As I said, I say again, that I stand, as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him. The truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Master Bourn, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life. I thank God therefore. *Boner.* That is not true; for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much. *Bradford.* No: I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of M. Bourn himself, as if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and

was removed to the King's bench prison, and detained there under a restraint which his own admirable conduct, acting upon worthy keepers, appears to have rendered tolerably easy. Unless labouring under illness he constantly preached twice in the day, and he frequently administered the Holy Communion. Visitors to form a congregation eagerly sought the privilege of passing the prison-gates, and frequently did a crowded chamber hang upon the suffering preacher's lips. His conscientious keepers were not contented with allowing even this indulgence to such as thirsted for the living streams which Bradford's eloquence could unlock. He was frequently permitted, under night's friendly cover, to visit sick persons in the neighbourhood of his prison. He knew himself destined to the stake, and he was no stranger to that shuddering recoil from such a fate which is natural to man. But he scorned to escape it by forfeiting his word, and his gaoler was so convinced of his integrity, that he consented to his undertaking secretly a journey into

also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours; if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer." (Foxe, 1458.) This last application was eluded, Gardiner abruptly turning the discourse to an offer of the royal mercy in case of the prisoner's apostacy to Romanism. Enough, however, has been said to shew that there were no grounds for charging Bradford with seditious behaviour at St. Paul's Cross, and that his adversaries, though resolute in clinging to this charge, had failed of substantiating it, in the Tower. Hence his detention not as a political, but as a religious delinquent.

Oxfordshire, upon a visit to a friend. This excursion, however, was prevented by a fit of illness which overtook him, and Bradford continued in his prison, intent, as heretofore, upon improving to the utmost there, that residue of life which might be committed to his trust. Prayer, religious argument, admonition, reading, and meditation occupied the whole of his days. In general, he conceded only four hours of the night to sleep, and he sought his couch with a book in his hand, which he ceased not to read until drowsiness overpowered him. He ate but once in the day, and then very sparingly. He deemed, in truth, every waking hour mis-spent, which had not produced some spiritual benefit either to himself, or to others. Once in the week it was his usage to visit the degraded malefactors who justly tenanted the dungeons near his own apartment; and he sought, by earnest exhortation, to wean their perverted affections from crime. Nor did he forget the temporal necessities of these miserable outcasts, but liberally dispensed among them such sums of money as the care of his friends supplied [h].

While he was in prison, Bradford never allowed his attention to the state of religious opinion without to flag for a moment. He wrote numerous letters to those who were disquieted by the persecution, and to confirm men in the faith which they had once embraced. Especially did he labour to withstand that dissimulation which was undermining

[h] Foxe, 1457. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 367.

sound scriptural principles. Men lately known as zealous Protestants, were now seen at mass, although among their confidential friends they declared themselves unchanged in belief; averring that their outward conformity was extorted from them by the fear of bringing ruin upon their families, or by an overpowering horror of an early death upon the blazing pyre. In the homely phraseology of his day, Bradford designated such religionists as "mangy mongrels," and he pronounced an unqualified condemnation of their worldly prudence[i]. He even wrote a short treatise, attacking the mass, and shewing the mischief of affording to it any degree of countenance. This piece appears to have been circulated privately in manuscript, being lent by the zealous author to such as were thought to need it, and then returned to him again[k]. With a view of escaping the manifest impiety of a service, in which, after certain words are spoken, the congregation kneel before a wafer, as if the mighty God had descended from on high; some timorous Protestants absented themselves from mass, and affected a seeming conformity with prevailing usages by attending only matins and vespers. This policy drew down also Bradford's unsparing reprehension[l]. In addition to the calls upon him from without, his fellow-prisoners found employment for Bradford's active mind. It might have been supposed, that community of sufferings, community of opinion respecting

[i] Letters of the Martyrs, 345. 360.
[k] Ibid. 385.
[l] Ibid. 401.

the main points at issue between themselves and their oppressors, would have extinguished all petty animosities between the incarcerated assertors of scriptural truth. Their grated chambers often exhibited, however, that picture of contention which unhappily seldom fails to disturb the tranquillity of man. A source of interest was found in ardent discussions upon the most mysterious dispensations of providence; free will and predestination furnishing topics whereby the suffering Protestants beguiled the gloomy monotony of their prison hours. In examining these questions, arguments were used, and conclusions drawn which led to perplexity and irritation. The disputants eventually ranged themselves in parties, viewing each other with considerable aversion. Bradford was actively engaged in these unhappy dissensions. He took the predestinarian side, but he kept clear of its exceptionable features; maintaining that the final condemnation of individuals, though everlastingly decreed, results from their own refusal of redemption, by means of an obstinate perseverance in iniquity[m]. This rational

[m] "I believe, that Christ for man, being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam, and his whole posterity *that refuse it not finally*." (Bradford to R. Cole, and N. Sheterden, Letters of the Martyrs, 409.) "God's *foresight* is not the cause of sin, or excusable necessity to him that sinneth. The damned, therefore, have not, and shall not have any excuse, because God, *foreseeing their condemnation through their own sin*, did not draw them, as he doth his elect, unto Christ; but as the elect have cause to thank God for ever for his great mercies in Christ, so the other have cause to lament their own wickedness, sin, and

mode of treating the controversy, probably, did not satisfy some over-heated assertors of the predestinarian hypothesis, and an appeal, accordingly, was made upon this subject to the prelates imprisoned at Oxford [n]. Ridley, collected, in consequence, those passages of Scripture which bear upon predestination and election, accompanying them with some comments of his own. He judiciously forbore, however, from dogmatizing upon these abstruse questions, but strictly confined himself within the limits marked out for such enquirers in the Sacred Volume [o]. During their progress, an attempt was made to terminate these contentions, by the preparation of articles which appeared likely to shock the prejudices of neither party. This expedient, unfortunately, failed; the more violent predestinarians, after giving hopes that they would thus unite with their brethren, refusing their signature to the propositions awaiting that attestation [p].

After vindicating his conduct at St. Paul's cross, from misrepresentation, Bradford thus received, at

contumacy of Christ, *which is the cause of their reprobation.*" Bradford's Meditations upon the Lord's Prayer, p. 270; cited by Archbishop Laurence, Bamp. Lect. notes, 461.

[n] Signed by Ferrar, Taylor, Philpot, and Bradford.

[o] "Know you, that concerning the matter you mean, I have, in Latin, drawn out the places of the Scripture, and upon the same have noted what I can for the time. Sir, *in these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak farther, yea, almost none otherwise, than the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand.*" Ridley to Bradford, Letters of the Martyrs, 64.

[p] The particulars of these disputes have been discovered by Archbishop Laurence among the Bodleian MSS.

St. Mary Overy's, the hackneyed offer of her Majesty's mercy: "I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from." Gardiner then tried the effect of intimidation, assuring him that "the Queen was minded to make a purgation of all such as he." The prisoner said, that God's favour was sweeter far to him than life; and that having sworn six times to renounce the Roman bishop, he could not now safely consent to acknowledge that personage's claims. "Tush," answered Gardiner, "Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at." Bradford replied, that his oath was not like that of Herod, but on the contrary, an obligation entered into upon the solidest grounds, as my Lord Chancellor himself, he added, had excellently proved in his book *De Vera Obedientia*. This rebuke reduced Gardiner, as usual, to temporary confusion, and his coadjutors pressed forward to his relief by charging the prisoner with having written, during his confinement, a multitude of seditious letters. Bradford denied that he had ever written any thing liable to such an imputation, and he defied those who charged him with sedition to prove him guilty of it. Of this challenge, however, no notice was taken; an altercation merely following, which ended in an order that he should be re-conducted to prison, and there prevented from using his pen.

Being brought up again, on the 29th of January, the royal mercy was offered to him once more, in a long speech from the Chancellor. Bradford said, that he now stood before the court, either innocent

or guilty, and he demanded that judgment should be given upon his case according to its actual complexion; adding, that captious questions likely to bring some new liability upon him ought, in justice, to be asked of no man. As for himself, he resumed, he was precluded from answering any such queries, because in so doing, he should submit to the papal authority, which he could not do without committing perjury. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that Bradford allowed himself to be dislodged from this position; both upon his own account, and because he would thereby have pointed out a strong and honourable ground of resistance to persons unendowed with abilities like his own. His impatient courage was not, however, proof against Gardiner's artful assertions that his silence was a mere subterfuge, assumed because he dared not to speak his mind. Spurning this insult, and more especially, fearing lest his apparent timidity should prejudice the cause of truth, Bradford thus addressed his unmanly judge: "Where your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know, that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But O Lord, into thy hands I commit it: come what will, only sanctify thy name in me, as an instrument of thy grace. Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see that I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer." Gardiner of course eagerly followed up his infamous advantage by interrogating the prisoner as to the corporal presence. Bradford warily replied,

that he believed Christ to be "corporally present in the Eucharist, unto faith." This answer, he was told, needed a good deal of explanation, and as the dinner-time arrived, before any thing criminatory could be drawn from him, he was remanded. On the following day, Bishop Bourn was present, and although, greatly to his disgrace, he said not a single word in his deliverer's behalf, yet the expressive silence with which he received that oppressed individual's appeal to him forced Gardiner to abandon the charge of sedition [q]. An

[q] As many readers of the new Romish history may feel disposed to suspect Bradford of having been privy to the outrage at St. Paul's Cross, Dr. Lingard's account of that affair, and the authentic statement of Bradford's acquittal upon that charge are subjoined. "Bourn, one of the royal chaplains, had been appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross. In the course of his sermon, he complained of the late innovations, and the illegal deprivation of the Catholic prelates. *Pull him down*, suddenly exclaimed a voice in the crowd. The cry was echoed by several groupes of women and children: and a dagger, thrown with considerable violence, struck one of the columns of the pulpit. Bourn, alarmed for his life, withdrew into St. Paul's church, under the protection of Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers. This outrage, *evidently preconcerted*, injured the cause which it was designed to serve." (Hist. Engl. vii. 183.) Upon this statement, which is not authenticated by any reference, it is only necessary to observe, that there is no reason for believing the outrage in question to have been "preconcerted." Foxe informs us, that "the matter of his (Bourn's) sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward." (1281.) Now, unless it is known that the auditory was previously apprised of the preacher's intention to insult the memory of that promising young prince, so recently and prematurely torn from his admiring people, it is not at all "evident" that this outrage was "precon-

altercation then arose respecting the corporal presence, in which Bradford maintained his view of the

certed." In the following manner was Bradford vindicated as to the share which he took in this transaction. "*Bradford.* I have been a year and a half in prison. Now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said; the other day, in your own house; my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my Lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon these words, I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, which was hurled at him, I think, for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me, I would not leave him, and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and so went out of the pulpit, and intreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into an house. Besides this, in the afternoon, I preached at Bow-church, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people, for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition, at the least, twenty times. For all which, my doing, I have received this recompence, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is.

In speaking of these words there was an endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the Lord Chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught. "*Bradford.* No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say that my fact was good, but quoth you, my mind was evil. Well, quoth I, then, my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; for so much as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God, one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort what

question with great spirit and acuteness. At length, however, enough was extracted from him to prove that he wholly disbelieved the Romish Eucharistic doctrines[r], and he was, accordingly, condemned as

my mind was, and yours is. *Gardiner.* I never said so. I had not so little wit, I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing. And so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove, that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first, because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the Queen's religion. *Bradford.* Why, my Lord, your Honour knoweth, that you would not then reason with me in religion: but said, a time should afterward be found out when I should be talked withal. But if it were, as your Lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion; in that my religion was then authorised by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison therefore? Wherefore, let all men be judges in whom conscience wanteth." (Foxe, 1463.) No notice was taken of this speech; a desultory conversation immediately arising in which Bradford was accused of having defrauded Harrington. The prisoner met this, by denying stoutly that he had ever defrauded that officer, and he required Gardiner, as Chancellor of England, to punish, as libellers, any who should impute such an offence to him. This spirited language put an end to the accusation of dishonesty, and caused Bradford's judges to talk of the letters which he had written in prison, and of which the bigoted Earl of Derby had complained in Parliament.

[r] The following were Bradford's definitions upon this subject, at his last examination. "I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver. I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver. As for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you I believe it not. I deny that he (Christ) is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate." Being asked whether the wicked receive Christ's body, he an-

a heretic. In this process he was treated as a mere layman, the orders conferred by Bishop Ridley being,

swered at once, "No. He further said, that as the cup is the New Testament, so the bread is Christ's body to him that receiveth it duly, but yet so that the bread is bread." (Foxe, 1463.) In a letter, which he found the means of writing, after his condemnation, to the Protestants of Manchester, he thus expresses himself: "In the Supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not of the stander-by, or looker-on; as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof." (Letters of the Martyrs, 265.) "I cannot, dare not, nor will not confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea, mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, (which they term of the altar, thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly) do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary. To believe and confess, as God's word teacheth, as the primitive Church believed, and all the Catholic, and good holy fathers taught for 500 years at the least after Christ, that in the Supper of the Lord, (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his Word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness,) whole Christ, God and man, is present, by grace, to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by, and lookers-on, as the bread and wine is to their senses; will not serve, and therefore, I am condemned, and shall be burned out of hand as an heretic." (Bradford to the Faithful at Walden. Ibid. 270.) The following is his advice to a friend as to the answer proper to be given upon this subject. "If they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no, answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal senses, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after consecration so; even to the eyes, taste, and senses of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul

as least in this particular case, wholly disallowed. After condemnation Bradford was carried to the Clink-prison, and thence he was transferred to the Poultry-counter. He was long respited from the stake, and great exertions were made to wring from him a recantation. Archbishop Heath, the Bishops Boner and Day, De Castro with another Spanish divine attached to the King, and several eminent ecclesiastics besides visited his cell. He would fain have declined these attentions, saying that his span of life was now drawing to a close, and that he, therefore, was anxious to spend the whole of it in the care of his own soul. Nor would he have consented at all to receive the distinguished individuals who desired a conference with him, had he not been willing to take away all pretence for denying his candour, and his capacity for investigating the questions upon which he was committed to jeopardy his life. The subjects argued in these conversations were chiefly the visibility of the Church, and transubstantiation. In answering what was advanced upon this latter question, Bradford repeatedly mentioned Bishop Tunstall's admission, that before the fourth council of Lateran, Christians were not bound to receive the Eucharistic doctrine exactly as it is now taught in the Roman Church[s]. The Romish arguments are supported by the hackneyed course of assertions and fallacies; nor do these conferences

feedeth on to everlasting life, in faith and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine." Ibid. 391.

[s] De Ver. Cor. et Sang. Do. in Euch. 46.

altogether present any thing remarkable, excepting a slight expression of regret from Bishop Day that his Church had denied to laymen the sacramental cup, and an observation from Archbishop Heath that Bradford rested upon obscure texts of Scripture: a strange objection certainly from one who seeks support for his own opinions from passages which are obviously difficult [t]. It was long expected by Bradford, that he would suffer in his native town of Manchester. On the first day of July, however, he met his death in Smithfield. His protracted expectancy of this event had occasioned to him, at intervals, a good deal of suffering; his imagination being often haunted during sleep, by frightful pictures of the horrors which awaited him. The Marian martyrs not uncommonly dreamt, that the

[t] Thus the papal primacy is defended by means of the text, "Thou art Peter," &c. (St. Matt. xvi. 18.) The language here is evidently metaphorical; and even eminent Romish divines have differed as to its precise meaning. Transubstantiation is defended by means of passages considered as metaphorical by a large proportion of the Christian world, and which learned Romanists are compelled to consider as difficult, because their insufficiency for the proofs mainly built upon them has been acknowledged by many high authorities in the papal Church. The sacerdotal absolution of attrite persons, confessing sins auricularly, rests upon the text "Whose soever sins" &c. (St. John, xx. 23.) An explanation of this text, certainly accurate, is very far from obvious. Purgatory is thought by Romanists generally to be revealed in the text, "So as by fire," &c. (1 Cor. iii. 15.) When Bradford cited the context of this passage to prove that a belief in the main articles of the Christian faith is sufficient for salvation, Archbishop Heath ranked his citation among the "hard and dark places of the Scriptures."

chain which was to confine them amidst the flames had actually arrived. Bradford's earthly tenement was occasionally a prey to such nightly terrors, and he never suffered from them more severely than when upon the edge of martyrdom. A frightful dream that a man bearing the fatal chain was knocking loudly at the Counter-gate, aroused him from his couch, in extreme agitation, on the last Saturday night of his life. Resorting, however, immediately to reading and prayer, his usual remedies under these morbid uneasinesses, he quickly became tranquil, and even cheerful. Having spent the morning in excellent spirits, that anticipation which had mingled bitterness in his night's repose, and which probably he had good grounds for entertaining, was realised towards the close of day. "Oh, Master Bradford," said the keeper's wife, approaching with agitated countenance, and hasty step, "this night you must leave us for Newgate, and tomorrow you will be burned." The martyr instantly put off his cap, thanked God for the news, expressed his readiness to take leave of mortality, and prayed that he might act worthily of the end to which heaven had called him. He was not removed until between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and as he passed through the yard the miserable inmates of the gaol, crowding around the grated apertures of their cells, wept at his departure, and warmly bade him farewell. Late as was the hour, on entering the street, he found a multitude of people waiting for a sight of him: nor did sobs, prayers, and affectionate adieus, intermit for a moment during his progress to

Newgate. A rumour had gone abroad, that he was to suffer by four o'clock on the following morning; and, accordingly, Smithfield was crowded at that hour. He did not, however, appear in that scene of Romish infamy, and Protestant triumphs, before nine o'clock. The concourse was immense, and the precautions against popular violence were much more extensive than any that had been taken upon a former occasion. A second victim was provided in the person of John Leafe, a tallow-chandler's apprentice, of nineteen, who refused his assent to transubstantiation, and to the Romish doctrine of sacramental absolution. On reaching the pyre, both the sufferers fell upon their faces, and remained for a short space engaged in prayer. They were, however, quickly disturbed by the sheriffs, who seem to have been somewhat alarmed by the multitudes which poured down upon the spot. Being fastened to the stake, Bradford said with a loud voice, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins: beware of idolatry, beware of antichrists, take heed that they do not deceive thee." Hearing these words, one of the sheriffs said, that if Bradford were not quiet, he would have his hands tied. The martyr immediately replied, "O master sheriff, I am quiet: God forgive you this." He then declared himself in perfect charity with all the world, asked forgiveness of any who might complain of him, intreated the spectators to aid him with their prayers, while his soul was in parting, and addressed a few words of encouragement to the youth who was chained at his side. Having thus taken leave of his fellow-men, he em-

braced the reeds around him; and after saying, "Straight is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it," his voice was heard no more[u]. Among the persons who perished in the Marian persecution, Bradford certainly was one of the most remarkable. When the Reformation first beamed benignly over England, he was a mere boy; nor was he from either learning or station ever qualified to share the counsels of those who vindicated the independence, and obliterated the doctrinal blemishes of their national Church; but he was admirably qualified for popularity as a preacher. His numerous epistolary remains prove him to have been pious, eloquent, zealous, and energetic, in a very high degree. His breach of integrity in youth, and that appetite for worldly gratifications, which appears to have produced it in his case, as probably it does in all cases, were in his powerful hands additional holds upon popular attention. He never hesitated to confess his errors, to paint the horror which overspread his mind upon the thought of them, and the unutterable ruin which must have overtaken him, had he not been awakened in time to a just sense of his condition. Such pictures come home, more or less, to every human heart, and in a large assembly they are likely to reveal both a gaping wound and a practicable cure to many breasts, where hitherto the evil has been but slightly known, and the remedy hardly thought essential.

[u] Foxe, 1474.

Public attention was turned again, at the beginning of autumn, to the prelates imprisoned at Oxford. Weston's condemnation of them was notoriously ineffective, because pronounced at a time when an Englishman might deny, without incurring the risk of being burnt alive, that a few words muttered by a Romish priest over a diminutive cake would infallibly draw down the Saviour sensibly into the midst of any assembly whatsoever. This omission in the national jurisprudence having been supplied in the last Parliament, it was now determined that the distinguished prisoners should no longer continue unvisited by the penalty which had been provided for their opinions. The national authorities were not, however, primarily to take cognizance of their cases, but were merely to act in subordination to powers transmitted from Rome [x]. With such credentials James

[x] This contemptible subserviency to a foreign usurpation is lauded by Sanders and Ribadeneyra; both of whom, it may be noted by the way, have the face to mix up their brief notices of the Marian persecution with accounts of the Queen's political difficulties: thereby giving ignorant foreigners reason for fancying that the martyrs were, in fact, conspirators as well as Protestants. "Erant qui cum cæteris conspiraverunt, varii pseudo-episcopi, læsæ majestatis condemnati; sed hoc nomine noluit in quemquam ipsorum Maria secundum leges civiles animadverti, sed ad Ecclesiæ judicium eorum causam prorsus deferri mandavit; præsertim in causa Cranmeri, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, in quem, non nisi secundum mandata Apostolica inquiri, et sententiam dici permisit; ubi non ipsa, nec suæ Majestatis maritus, Rex vere Catholicus, judicum, sed accusatorum, coram commissario Apostolico, *pulcherrimo exemplo et ordine* partes egerunt, sicut ipsi vidimus." (De Schism. Angl. 246.) Now, of the bishops who perished in the flames under Queen Mary, what

Brookes, formerly chaplain to Gardiner, now Bishop of Gloucester, proceeded to Oxford, as papal sub-delegate[y], accompanied by Martin and Story, two civilians, who were to act as the royal proctors. Brookes opened his commission in St. Mary's church, on the 12th of September, being seated on a scaffold, ten feet in height, erected over the high altar: a distinction paid to him as the pontiff's representative. Beneath him sat the two civilians, one on either hand; and lower still were seated various other doctors. Before this assemblage Archbishop Cranmer, habited respectably in a black gown, with a doctor's hood over his shoulders, made his appearance, guarded by the officers of justice. On entering he sur-

colour is there for charging Latimer, Hooper, and Ferrar with conspiracy? And with what face could Mary have executed Cranmer and Ridley upon such a charge? Ribadeneyra, however, hesitates not to spread among his own countrymen in particular, the vague calumnies which Sanders insinuates for the purpose of misleading unsuspecting foreign scholars generally; and he thus compliments Philip and Mary for proceeding, at Oxford, under papal authority: "Dieron en esto los reyes maravilloso exemplo de religion y de modestia, y mostraron el respeto que a las personas ecclesiasticas se deve, aunque sean tan malas como era Cranmero." Hist. del Schism. 230.

[y] The business was committed by the Pope to Cardinal Puteo. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 532.) "James Brookes was born in Hampshire, and had his academical education at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow, but afterwards was chosen master of Balliol College. He was chaplain to Bishop Gardiner, by whose interest he was promoted to the see of Gloucester. He died in February 1559-60, and was buried in his cathedral." Watkins' Life of Latimer prefixed to his Sermons, cxii. note.

veyed the preparations before him, and then stood at some distance, without exhibiting any mark of respect or civility. His reason for this discourtesy must, probably, be sought in the position of Bishop Brookes, whom he recognized immediately as the Pope's representative, by the seat blasphemously assigned to him over the altar, with its accompanying wafers, the cherished objects of Romish idolatry. An officer soon called out, "Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy, before the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person." The Archbishop was then brought farther forward, and now observing the royal proctors, he respectfully bent his knee, and put off his cap, first to the one, and then to the other. He looked also Brookes in the face, but took no notice of him whatever. The Bishop was piqued at this, and said, that his present situation obviously entitled him to more courteous usage. "I have advisedly and solemnly sworn," answered Cranmer, with an amiable expression of modest firmness, "never to consent again to admit the Bishop of Rome's authority within this realm of England. This oath, by God's grace, I mean to keep; I cannot, therefore, do any thing which may bear even an appearance of my consent to the re-admission of this foreign authority. Solely to this scruple of mine I pray you to refer my present conduct. It is not from any contempt for your lordship's person that I treat you thus. Had your commission come from as

good an authority as that of the two proctors, I should have been well contented to shew you the respect which I have shewn to them." Bp. Brookes then addressed the prisoner in an absurd and insulting speech; charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery; and exhorting him to repent of his defection from the papacy. Dr. Martin followed up this opening harangue by another nearly as ridiculous and unfeeling; and he concluded by exhibiting an instrument, under the great seal, empowering himself and Story to act as royal proctors; also certain articles of accusation against the prisoner, and certain books either written by him, or published with his authority. Cranmer now demanded, whether he might be allowed to enter upon his defence, and permission being granted, he knelt down towards the west, and repeated the Lord's Prayer. At the conclusion of this, he rose and recited the creed. As a preliminary to his defence, he required that a note should be made of his absolute refusal to recognise the Bishop of Rome's claims over England. The note was made accordingly, and Martin then desired him to remember, that he was an attainted traitor, and a dead man in law. Cranmer said, that he was no traitor, although undoubtedly the matters contained in his arraignment at Guildhall were true, and as such had been admitted by him when put upon his trial there. As for obedience to the Pope, he denied his power to yield it without injury to his soul, he having solemnly forsworn it; and he argued that it was an obedience which no Englishman could

yield, without prejudice to the civil authorities of his native country[z]. He then inveighed against the practice of saying public prayers in a foreign language, as leading to the people's ignorance of religious truth; and he maintained that the doctrines

[z] Cranmer exemplified this position by the following instances: "A priest indebted, by the laws of the realm, shall be sued before a temporal judge: by the Pope's laws contrary.

"The Pope doth the King injury in that he hath his power from the Pope. The King is head in his own realm: but the Pope claimeth all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the Pope in every realm hath a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome, the benefice must be given by the bishop. By the laws of the realm the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed to a *præmunire*, and so is the law of the realm expelled, and the King standeth accursed in maintaining his own laws. Therefore, in consideration that the King and Queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogate, seeing the crown is holden of him being out of the realm." Foxe, 1701.

The pontifical distinctly asserts the superiority of the Church over temporal authorities by the question which it prescribes to metropolitans, on the coronation of princes. The illustrious object of this ceremony is to be conducted between two bishops to the officiating prelate, who is to be thus addressed: "Most reverend father; holy Church demands that you should raise the excellent knight, here present, to the royal dignity." The metropolitan is then directed to ask: "Do you know him to be worthy, and useful for this dignity?" (Pontif. 77.) This form is very nearly the same as that prescribed in the office for ordaining priests, an occasion in which a discretionary power as to the admission of candidates is vested in the bishop. Obviously such a form in a coronation-service is repugnant to the constitution of every kingdom.

inculcated in his book upon the Eucharist were conformable to all the decisions of the Church, during more than the first thousand years of her existence. "If from any doctor who wrote within that period," he added, "a passage can be brought proving the authorised prevalence of a belief in the corporal presence, I will give over. My book was written seven years ago, and no man yet hath brought any authors against it." Afterwards he argued, that the Pope was antichrist from the intolerable arrogance of his pretensions; and from his patronage of unscriptural usages; and he concluded by charging Brookes with perjury. The Bishop endeavoured to shift the blame of this upon the prisoner, by saying that he was himself the cause why the nation had allowed the royal supremacy. Cranmer averred, that such was not the fact; his predecessor Warham having decided that the supremacy was inherent in the crown [a], and the Universities having confirmed that decision. "You were then," said the Archbishop to Brookes, "Doctor in Divinity, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Wherefore, you misreport me that I was the cause of your falling away from the Pope. It was your own act. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and three quarters of a year before I had the see of Canterbury. So that here ye have reported of me what ye cannot prove; which is evil done." Brookes pettishly met this merited rebuke by saying: "We come to examine you, and you, methink,

[a] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 280.

examine us." Dr. Story then made a speech garnished with offensive personalities, of which the purport was, that the accused ought to be compelled to answer, in spite of the objections alleged by him against the judicature commissioned to take cognizance of his facts. The Archbishop was next charged by Dr. Martin with perjury, upon the ground that he forswore the Pope, after having taken an oath in that dignitary's favour at his consecration to the see of Canterbury. Cranmer answered, that his oath at that time was taken under protest, and with the best legal advice. His accuser now charged him with having travelled post-haste from Germany for the sake of taking the archbishopric; it having been offered to him upon condition of his authorising the King's adultery. This infamous accusation was indignantly repelled, as false in all its parts [f]. He was then charged, after some abusive declamation, with having taught three contrary doctrines of the Sacrament. He denied this, by declaring that he had taught only two contrary doctrines upon this subject; one being that of the Romanists, the other, that which he had maintained in print, and which was first proved to his satisfaction in conferences with Bishop Ridley. After this Martin asked, "Whom do you take for supreme head of the Church, since you deny that character to the Pope?" The answer was, "Christ." "But who is Christ's vicar upon earth?" rejoined the questionist. "Nobody," was the reply. This was de-

[f] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 358.

clared inconsistent with the allowance of King Henry's supremacy. But the Archbishop explained his assertion of ecclesiastical rights for temporal princes, as merely extending to the secular concerns of religious bodies existing within their respective territories. In this sense he conceded a supremacy over the Roman Christians to Nero, and over the Greek Church to the Grand Seignior. This admission occasioned a murmur of disapprobation among the auditors, and it was followed by certain interrogatories offered to the prisoner. These related to his two marriages, his publications, his compelling men to subscribe the forty-two articles, his "enorme and inordinate crimes," for which he was cast into the Tower; his public denial of transubstantiation; his "schismatical" defection from Rome; his oath to the Pope under protest; his exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of episcopal ministrations, without papal authority; and his refusal to recognize that authority, now that the realm generally had consented to its re-admission. Of these allegations he admitted those which concerned his two marriages, maintaining at the same time that his conduct in having a wife of his own was far better than that of many priests, who corrupted the wives of other men. For the Catechism, the book of Articles, and the book against Gardiner, he confessed himself entirely responsible. Peter Martyr's book upon the Sacrament, he said, was never seen by him before its publication; but, he added, that he liked and approved it. He denied that he had ever compelled any man to subscribe the articles. As for "enorme and inordi-

nate crimes," he replied, that he knew of no such ever committed by him. That he had publicly maintained a doctrine of the Sacrament, which the University of Oxford had condemned, he admitted; but he denied that either he had been convicted of any error, or that his opinions were heretical. In abandoning the papacy, he declared himself to have done nothing schismatical; and in the matters concerning his oath on consecration, as well as concerning the discharge of his functions, he said that he had always acted in conformity with his country's laws. In conclusion, he maintained, that in refusing his consent to the Pope's re-admission into England, he had committed no error. The sub-delegate now made a speech for the purpose of weakening the effect of Cranmer's defence upon the minds of the auditors. This is a vituperative and inconclusive attempt to palliate the perjury of himself and others who had apostatized to Popery, also to defend the papal supremacy, public prayers in a dead language, half-communion, and transubstantiation. Story followed with a quibbling construction of the oath acknowledging the royal supremacy; maintaining that it extended only to the prince under whom it was taken. The reigning sovereign, therefore, he said, having dispensed with such an obligation, had released the subject's conscience from adhering to the principle of it. The Archbishop now replied; but the Romish reporter of this day's proceedings has omitted every syllable that he uttered. What he said, however, was evidently far from satisfactory to the triumphant sophists, who sat in judgment upon

him; for Story thus cut him short: "Hold your peace, Sir, and so it shall right well become you; considering that I gave you license before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath at all, for it lacked the three points of an oath, justice, judgment, and truth." Witnesses were then sworn to give evidence against the accused, who being asked whether he objected to any of them, challenged them all as perjured men, who had once sworn to renounce the Pope, and who, notwithstanding, now came forward in his cause[g]. Soon after this the court broke up, Cranmer at his departure again making a low obeisance to the two royal proctors, and treating the papal sub-delegate with total neglect. On the next

[g] "These (witnesses) were, Dr. Marshall, Dean of Christ-church, a most furious and zealotical man; and who, to shew his spite against the Reformation, had caused Peter Martyr's wife, who deceased while he was the King's professor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill; Dr. Smyth, public professor, who had recanted most solemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the Archbishop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote against his book, and was now sworn a witness against him; Dr. Tresham, a canon of Christ-church, who was one of the disputers against Cranmer, and had said, in his Popish zeal, that there were six hundred errors in his book of the Sacrament; Dr. Crook; Mr. London, a relation, I suppose, of Dr. London, who came to shame for his false accusation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign, and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's sake; Mr. Curtop, another canon of Christ-church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr; Mr. Ward; Mr. Serles, the same, I suppose, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of conspirators against him in King Henry's days." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 536.

day the court resumed its session, and most probably received evidence as to the allegations against the prisoner. The conclusion of its proceedings is, however, the only part of them of which any particulars have reached posterity. Cranmer was cited to make his appearance at Rome within eighty days, precedents forbidding the condemnation of a metropolitan without the Pope's especial cognizance. He received this notification by saying, that he would willingly go thither, if their Majesties would allow him the means. Instead of receiving any such facility, he was remanded to his old quarters in the city gaol, kept there, and deprived of pecuniary resources, as heretofore. Of course the eighty days expired, and no appearance either in person, or by proctor, was made by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was then pronounced contumacious, and sentence was passed upon him accordingly [h].

[h] Foxe, 1707. It should be observed respecting the proceedings against Archbishop Cranmer, on the first day of his appearance before Bp. Brookes, that, satisfactory as they are to those who venerate the martyr's memory, they have probably suffered something in the hands of their Romish reporter. The court did not break up on that day before about two o'clock in the afternoon. It could scarcely have sitten, at that time, for less than five or six hours, and yet the whole account of it only occupies about eight of Foxe's pages. In these, too, the Romish speeches take up a disproportionate space. Now Cranmer's answer to Story's construction of the oath against the papal supremacy is confessedly omitted. Nor can we doubt that other things are either omitted, or incompletely related. Protestants are indeed greatly obliged to the reporter of this memorable day's business, at St. Mary's; for he has preserved much valuable matter in vin-

On the last day of September, Bishop Brookes, together with John White, Bishop of Lincoln[i], and John Holiman, Bishop of Bristol[k], acting under a commission from Cardinal Pole, as legate *a latere*, summoned before them in the divinity-school the Bishops Latimer and Ridley. The right reverend prisoners were styled in the commission addressed to

dication of Cranmer's personal character. A more full report, however, would have still farther extended, it is likely, the grounds for venerating the memory of that illustrious prelate.

[i] "John White was born at Farnham, in Surrey, and received his education at Winchester-school, after which he became fellow of New College, Oxford. About 1534 he was appointed master of the school where he had been bred, and next succeeded to the wardenship of Winchester-college; but in the reign of Edward VI. he was sent to the Tower, for his secret practices in favour of Popery. On the accession of Mary he was advanced to the see of Lincoln, and afterwards translated to Winchester. He was, says Wood, a man of austere life, and much more mortified to the world than Gardiner, his predecessor. Of his austerity we have a proof in his conduct to the Protestant bishops, and his mortified spirit appeared in the funeral sermon which he preached for Queen Mary, after praising whom for her piety, he said, she had left a sister, a lady of great worth, whom they were now bound to obey, for that *a living dog is better than a dead lion.* Notwithstanding this he only suffered deprivation in 1559; and, dying soon after, was buried in his cathedral." Watkins's Life of Latimer, prefixed to his Sermons, cxi. note.

[k] "John Holiman was a native of Buckinghamshire, and was bred at Winchester-school, from whence he removed to New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. Afterwards he became a monk of the abbey of Reading; from whence he was ejected, on its dissolution. In 1554 he was made Bishop of Bristol, which see he held till his death, in 1558. He wrote a tract against Luther, and another in defence of the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon; both in Latin." Ibid. cxii.

their judges "pretensed Bishops of Worcester and London;" and the specific ground of accusation against them was the doctrine which they had maintained in open disputation more than twelve months before. Ridley was first brought into the school. His venerable associate quickly followed; but he had no sooner appeared than orders were given to remove him; it being determined to hear the two cases separately. The deprived Bishop of London stood before the court bareheaded, with that air of polished courtesy, which had attended him through life. The commission was now read, of course, reciting its authority from the pontiff and the legate. On hearing this clause the prisoner immediately put on his cap, and he continued covered until the officer had ceased to read. Bishop White now remonstrated with him, saying, that neither he nor his brother commissioners desired any token of respect, so far as they were personally concerned; yet inasmuch as they represented the pope and the cardinal, it was fitting that they should receive the customary marks of honour. It was replied by Ridley, taking off his cap, that he would willingly treat Pole with all humility, reverence, and honour, upon account of his royal birth, and his manifold graces of learning and virtue; but he added, again covering his head, "As legate to the Bishop of Rome I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto the Cardinal, lest my behaviour in doing thus should be prejudicial to mine oath, and in derogation to the verity of God's Word." He was answered, that no reverence was claimed for Pole, upon the ground of his per-

sonal qualities, however worthy of respect these might be thought, but solely inasmuch as he represented his Holiness; upon which account, if the prisoner would persist in remaining covered, his cap should be removed by force; unless illness were alleged as a reason for keeping it on. Ridley said, that he could assign no such reason, being then sufficiently well at ease; that the sole motive of his present conduct was a desire to shew his contempt for the Bishop of Rome's usurpation; and that as for plucking the cap from off his head, whether it was done or not, was a matter to which he was utterly indifferent. After three admonitions, this *was* done, and White exhorted the prisoner to resume the profession of Popery, as being the religion planted at Rome, by St. Peter, shortly after Christ's ascension; as having been renounced by him within a very short period; and as being under the guidance of a prelate, who is the lineal successor of that Apostle, upon whom, as a rock, Christ built his Church: a fact recognised by the fathers. In reply, Ridley maintained, that Christ promised to build the Church not upon St. Peter's person, but upon his confession; also that the deference paid to the Roman see in early times resulted from its position in the capital of a mighty empire, and from the sound opinions maintained by its prelates. He likewise shewed, that a passage cited from St. Austin, in support of the papal claims, will not bear the interpretation assigned to it; and he gave such explanations of his own conduct upon some occasions of recent date, as proved him to have been misrepre-

sented by the Romish party, at those times. After more conversation, chiefly of a critical nature, the prisoner said, that he had conformed himself to the advice of Vincent of Lerins, who recommends us to follow the majority, when a particular portion of the Church is corrupted by heresy, but if the majority be thus infected, then to follow antiquity. That the Roman Church was corrupt, he said, was evident from her injunction of half-communion. "Wherefore," he added, "I prefer the antiquity of the primitive Church, before the novelty of the Romish Church." An attempt was now made to defend half-communion, which ended in submitting five articles to the prisoner, and requiring him to subscribe them. Of these, three were merely formal, the remaining two charged him with denying transubstantiation, and with maintaining that the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead. These charges he admitted; giving, at the same time, some explanations as to his precise meaning, and repeating that he spoke under a protest against any recognition of the court's authority[1].

Ridley being withdrawn, Latimer was introduced, evidently suffering under fatigue from the length of time during which he had been kept in attendance. His dress evinced, as usual, an utter disregard of appearances, presenting to the spectator's eye an old thread-bare gown of Bristol frieze confined about the hips by a leathern girdle of a penny's price, a nightcap rendered warmer by the addition of a

[1] Foxe, 1599.

handkerchief, and over that an ordinary townsman's cap with flaps buttoned under the chin. From his girdle hung a Testament by a long string of leather, a pair of spectacles without any case was suspended from his neck, and in his hand he held his hat. Having come forward, he made a low obeisance, and thus addressed the court: "My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you, send not for me till you be ready. For I am an aged man, and it is a great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls." Bishop White humanely answered this appeal, by expressing his regret for its necessity, laying at the same time, the blame upon the bailiffs, and assuring the prisoner that he should not again have occasion to complain of such an inconvenience. He then apprised him of the legatine commission under which the court had met, and exhorted him to a reconciliation with Rome. Latimer, having requested liberty to sit, answered this address, by controverting White's exclusive application of certain scriptural passages to the Roman Church; and he instanced an unwarrantable artifice used of late in advancing that Church's cause, by citing a passage from a published sermon. In this it was asserted, that the Mosaic priesthood possessed the right of deciding controversies independently of Scripture; and 't was inferred, from this assumption, that the sacerdotal order among Christians is endued with the same privilege. The preacher had, however, omitted to mention, that all these Israelitish controversies were to be decided according to God's law. "What clipping of God's coin is this!" added the

venerable prisoner. A laugh arose upon the delivery of this homely censure, and the auditors were farther diverted by the discovery, which was quickly made, that Latimer had unknowingly quoted a sermon written by Brookes, one of his judges [m]. That

[m] The piece to which Latimer alludes is thus entitled: "A Sermon very notable, fruitful, and godly, made at Paul's Cross, the 12th day of November, in the first year of the gracious reign of our sovereign lady, Queen Mary, by James Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester." The particular passage to which the aged martyr refers is the following one: "The Catholic Church hath authority to judge and decide all matters of controversy in religion. For if the Scripture of the old law, in Moses' time, was not made the high judge of controversies, being a thing itself in divers points called in controversy, but authority in judgment was given always by God's own mouth to the learned and elders in the synagogue, to whose judgment all were bound to stand, and that under pain of present death, as appeareth in the book of Deuteronomy: if we Christians will not be counted in a worse state and condition than the Jews were, needs must we grant to the Catholic Church like authority for the decision of all controversies in our religion; when, if God did not assist evermore with the true intelligence of Scripture, then should the Scripture stand the Church in as good stead, as a pair of spectacles should stand a blind friar." (Watkins' Life of Latimer prefixed to his Sermons, cxxxvi. note.) The passage upon which Bishop Brookes built this inference is found in the 17th chapter of Deuteronomy, and it is expressly limited to questions of criminal and civil law. When such questions were found to baffle the ordinary jurisdictions, they were to be submitted to the principal ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the land, by whom the enquiring parties were to be taught "the sentence of the law." In other words, the supreme court of judicature was to decide as to the application of the law to particular cases. In what manner such a right of deciding upon appeals resembles a right to enforce the reception of speculative points in theology, unknown

prelate, indeed, now felt himself called upon to avow his production, and Latimer immediately said: "Was it yours, my Lord? Indeed, I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me." This artless address again elicited a burst of laughter, something, it might seem, to the discomposure of the aged prisoner, who thus rebuked his unfeeling auditors: "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death. *Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep*[a]." Meanwhile Bishop Brookes appears to have been fretting over the recent exposure of his published sermon, and at last he thus gave his vexation vent: "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." The old man thus met this reflection: "Lo, you look for learning at my hands which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without books, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given to him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the

to the Record, or not probably deducible from it, must be left to the consideration of those who choose tradition for a guide in questions of vital importance.

[a] St. Luke, vi. 25.

morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs [o], and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?" Regardless of this appeal, Bishop Brookes proceeded to justify his sermon, by saying that he did not mean, in the passage cited, to allege any precise words of Scripture, but only to point out a portion of the Sacred Volume evidently making for the principle which he was labouring to establish. Anxious to close this unfortunate discussion, Bishop White now said abruptly, that they came not to argue with the prisoner, but only to demand his answer to certain propositions. Latimer, however, again turned to the Bishop of Gloucester, and thus addressed him: "Well, my Lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word, parts of it not being left out, while one thing is snatched here, and another there. The whole ought to be faithfully rehearsed." He was now required to pronounce an opinion upon the five articles which had been already submitted to Bishop Ridley. His answers were similar to those of that prelate, and were given too, under a protest against the court's authority, as professedly derived from a foreign source.

On the following morning, Ridley was again brought before the court, and continuing covered, his cap was removed from his head in consequence of an order from the Bishop of Lincoln. That prelate then resumed his critical argument in favour of the

[o] The other's limbs have lost their pliancy.

papal supremacy, and asserted that Melancthon had understood a passage in Cyrill, relating to the Sacrament, differently from the prisoner. In the course of these observations, he remarked briefly upon the recent substitution of tables for altars, terming the former "oyster-boards," and upon the cessation of that idle superstition which requires men to communicate fasting, "People," he said, "lately came from puddings at Westminster to receive the sacrament." After answering these arguments and scoffs, Ridley was required to give a definitive opinion upon the articles which had been submitted to him on the day before. He produced immediately a sheet of writing, and began to read. He was, however, stopped at once, and a bedell was ordered to take the paper from him. This was handed to the delegates, who, having looked at it, and consulted together, refused to have it read, alleging that it contained blasphemy. The five questions of yesterday having been again proposed to the prisoner, and he having referred for answers to the paper which he had brought into court, Bishop Brookes admonished him to recant, in a speech immoderately exalting ecclesiastical privileges, and charging him with renouncing popery from evident self-conceit. Ridley shortly replied to this harangue, and then finally refusing to recant, he was excommunicated as an obstinate impugner of the corporal presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory character of the mass.

Latimer was now brought in, and he complained immediately of the inconvenience which his aged

and shattered frame had sustained in his way, from the throng which pressed upon him. Bishop White pledged himself that he should not be thus incommoded on his departure, and he then exhorted him once more to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church. The venerable prisoner denied that he had ever placed himself without her pale; and after briefly reprobating the artful manner in which his opponents confounded Catholic with Romish, he added, that the latter society ought to be termed diabolic rather than Catholic. He then likened his case to that of Cyprian, who was persecuted for his adherence to the truth, and he urged it as a strong scriptural presumption in favour of his own opinions, that they had continually been exposed to persecution, and as an equally strong one against the Church of Rome, that she had been a persevering persecutor. In the end, the five propositions of yesterday were again submitted to him for his definitive answers, and these being merely a repetition of those which he had already given, he was formally excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular arm. Before he left the court, he appealed to the next general council truly called in God's name. "It will be a long season, Master Latimer," said White, "before the calling of any such convocation as you mean[p]."

Earnest endeavours were now used to wring a recantation from the two prelates. For this purpose the places of their confinement were sought

[p] Foxe, 1603.

by Peter de Soto, a learned Dominican, long employed as confessor to the Emperor, who had been lately called over from Flanders for the avowed purpose of confirming Oxford in Popery [q]. Latimer declined the fatigue of a conference with this officious foreigner. Ridley admitted him, but as it might be expected, proved invincible by his arguments. These facts are considered by Pole, with his usual degree of charity and good sense, as evidences that "no man can save those whom God has cast away [r]." The next step in this atrocious tragedy was the insulting ceremony of degrading the victims from their holy orders. Of the manner in which Latimer underwent this vexatious interruption we have no particulars. To Ridley's apartment in the house of Irish, then Mayor of Oxford, Bishop Brookes, Dr. Marshall, the Vice-chancellor, and other leading members of the University repaired in the morning of the 15th of October. Brookes introduced himself by offering again the royal pardon to the prisoner, upon condition of his recantation, observing that thereby "he would win many, and do

[q] Ribadeneyra, 232.

[r] "A Rev. P. Soto accepi literas Oxonio datas, quibus me certiorem facit, quid cum duobus illis hæreticis egerit, qui jam erant damnati; quorum alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit, cum altero est locutus, sed nihil profecit, *ut facile intelligatur a nemine servari posse quos Deus projecerit.*" (Polus Philippo R. Ep. v. 47.) The clause of this passage which communicates the fact is given by Dr. Lingard, in a note. (vii. 273.) The succeeding clause, containing Pole's rational and charitable inference, has been judiciously suppressed by the historian.

much good." This offer being firmly refused, the sufferer was told that he must now be degraded from the priesthood; it being considered sufficient to do so, inasmuch as his episcopal consecration was not recognised. He was then desired to array himself in the vestments of a Romish officiating priest, and having declined this compliance, he was informed that he would forcibly be thus exhibited. He meekly replied, that "the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord[a]," and that, accordingly, Christ having submitted to be mocked by his persecutors, no follower of his ought to shrink from undergoing the same indignity. His visitors having completed their offensive task, Ridley would fain have discoursed with Brookes; but that prelate repulsed his overtures as coming from one with whom it was unlawful to hold communication. The prisoner, however, insisted upon being heard so far as to recommend the perusal of Retramn's important tract upon the Eucharist. Of this advice no notice was taken, the party merely turning round to go away. Ridley prevented the immediate execution of this purpose by promising to mention only worldly affairs, and by producing a supplication which he begged Brookes to present to the Queen. The prayer of this was in behalf of persons to whom he had granted leases while he possessed the see of London, and in behalf of a sister with three fatherless children, for whom he had provided by marrying her to an officer of his household. All these ar-

[a] St. Matt. x. 24.

rangements had been illegally set aside by Boner, and the amiable suppliant only besought of her Majesty, that she would cause compensation to be made to the injured parties, out of the effects which were left at his houses, on his imprisonment. In order that Brookes might not think himself entrusted with matter likely to offend the royal ears, Ridley read the paper to him, and when he came to that part which stated the case of his sister and her offspring, tears gushed abundantly from his eyes, and strong emotion choked his utterance. At last he said: "This is nature that moveth me. But now I have done." Having concluded his reading; and delivered the supplication into the hands of his brother-in-law, he was consigned to the officers of justice, with an injunction, that until execution he should not be suffered to hold intercourse with any visitor. "God, I thank thee," said the martyr, "and to thy praise be it spoken, that there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime. If you could, I see very well, it would surely be laid in my lap." Brookes hearing this, told him that he played the proud Pharisee, praising and exalting himself. "No, no," replied Ridley, "to God's glory be it spoken what I said before. I confess myself a miserable sinner; having great need of God's help and mercy; for which I daily cry. I pray you, therefore, have no such opinion of me." The ecclesiastical authorities having withdrawn, cheerfulness and tranquillity shed a modest lustre over the last evening of Ridley's blameless life. He paid some little attentions to his person, talked of

the morrow as his wedding-day, and at supper, invited his hostess, Mrs. Irish, to be present at his death. That lady's bigotry had long maintained within her breast a formidable mass of annoying prejudice against her illustrious guest, but the illusion gave way, at length, before his consistent excellence, and she now received his invitation with a flood of tears. "Oh, Mrs. Irish," said the martyr, "you love me not now, I see well enough. For it appeareth, by your weeping, that you will not be at my marriage, and that you are not content therewith. Indeed, you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself. Though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I doubt not that my supper shall be sweet and pleasant." On retiring for the night, his brother-in-law offered his services to watch by the side of his bed. But Ridley declined this kind attention, expressing himself assured of passing the night in peaceful and refreshing sleep.

On the following morning[t], he proceeded between the mayor and one of the aldermen of Oxford to the place which was to be signalised by the escape of his pious spirit from its earthly tenement. He was handsomely dressed in a black gown, such as he used to wear in the days of his worldly prosperity, a velvet tippet ornamented with fur over his shoulders, a cap of black velvet upon his head, and over it the square cap usually worn by clergymen. As he passed Bocardo, he looked up to its gloomy

[t] October 16.

windows in the hope of being indulged with at least a transient sight of his loved associate, Cranmer. But the Archbishop was then deeply engaged in controversial discourse with de Soto, and some others; nor was he aware of the mournful procession until it had passed beyond his prison. He then ascended, as there is good reason for believing, to the roof, sank upon his knees, and earnestly prayed that his suffering friends might be endued with strength from on high sufficient for their last appalling conflict with the powers of darkness[u]. While

[u] "Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where M. Cranmer did lie, hoping, belike, to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto, and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion." (Foxe, 1065.) "Interea Ridleius atque Latimerus una combusti sunt: quod funestum lugubreque spectaculum ex summo carceris sui loco conspiciens Cranmerus, idem brevi expectans hujus vitæ exitum, genibus flexis palmisque ad sidera tentis, sociis suis spei fideique constantiam in tam hor rendo mortis tormento precatus est." (Parker, 511.) Bp. Godwin's words (Annal. 125) are nearly the same, and have evidently been borrowed from these. They give, however, this relation as a *report* merely. "*Cranmerum ferunt*, &c." Archbishop Parker also was evidently Heylin's authority. "Cranmer was prisoner at that time in the North-gate of the city, called Bocardo, from the top whereof he beheld that most doleful spectacle; and casting himself upon his knees, he humbly beseeched the Lord to endue them with sufficient strength of faith and hope; which he also desired for himself whensoever he should act his part on that bloody theatre." (Hist. Ref. 223.) One contemporary authority, therefore, contents himself with relating that Cranmer, being otherwise engaged, did not see Ridley pass onwards to the stake. Another contemporary au-

walking onwards, Ridley heard a noise behind him, and looking back, his eyes rested on the venerable

thority tells us, that the Archbishop afterwards went upon the prison's roof, in order to catch a sight of the horrid immolation, and earnestly prayed for the victims. Authors of the next age have combined these two accounts, both of which, indeed, were then probably current traditionally. Dr. Lingard has presented us with the following new version of these affairs. "From the window of his cell the Archbishop had seen his two friends led to execution. *At this sight his resolution began to waver; and he let fall some hints of a willingness to relent, and to confer with the legate.*" (Hist. Eng. vii. 274.) The authorities for these statements are the following: "Is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, aitque se cupere mecum loqui.—Magnam spem initio dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipsa Regina impetraverat." The former of these sentences occurs in one of Pole's epistles, and succeeds, after the relation of a *report*, that the burning of Ridley and Latimer was not disagreeable to the populace, that very candid observation upon the cases of these two martyrs which has been already cited as an authority for De Soto's conference with Ridley. The passage, therefore, does not connect in any manner the state of Cranmer's mind, with the spectacle of his friends proceeding towards the scene of their martyrdom. It merely states, that the Archbishop entered into controversy with his usual candour, and expressed a desire to confer with Cardinal Pole. The other quotation advanced by Dr. Lingard is taken from Dudith's Life of Pole, and is nothing more than a vague, improbable assertion, that Cranmer, when first talked with, seemed inclined to recant. The precise date, however, of this assumed inclination is not supplied. Historical authorities, therefore, for Cranmer's sight of his friends through the window of his prison, and for the immediate "wavering of his resolution," there appear to be none whatever. Hence, these anecdotes of the Archbishop must be considered as Romish traditions, and no doubt, they are fully as worthy of belief, as the account of St. Nicholas's voluntary fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays, while he was an infant at the breast, and as many other circumstances authenticated by the Breviary.

form of Latimer. "Oh, be ye there?" he asked. "Yea," said the aged martyr, "I am after you, as fast as I can follow." The pyre was prepared in the old city-fosse, opposite Baliol College, and Ridley having reached its edge, raised his hands, and turned his eyes with earnest gaze towards heaven. His fellow-sufferer having now arrived, he ran up to him, embraced him tenderly, with a cheerful countenance, and thus addressed him: "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." The two martyrs then walked to the stake, kissed it, knelt for awhile in earnest prayer, and afterwards conversed together. Dr. Smyth, whose pliancy of conscience had ever placed him at the service of any party having preferment in its disposal, now mounted a pulpit, and preached from this text: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing[x]." He mocked the sufferers during scarcely one quarter of an hour, but that time sufficed for the delivery of much absurd and calumnious matter. He told his auditors, that a good cause, not contempt of death, lent dignity to a voluntary departure from the world. If it were not thus, he added, Judas Iscariot, and a woman, who lately hanged herself in Oxford, might pass for righteous persons. Especially he warned the people against allowing themselves to be seduced by the spectacle of death about to meet their eyes. The parties, he said, were heretics, without the pale

[x] 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

of the Church, and therefore ought not to be considered holy, because they might, as he feared they would, desperately sunder their lives from their bodies. He then proceeded to exemplify the danger of renouncing Romanism, by mentioning the discrepancies of opinion, as to the sacramental presence, which prevailed among Protestants. The sufferers he pronounced Zuinglians, and he maintained, that their doctrine was very wide of the Catholic faith, and of the principles inculcated in the fathers. Among his auditors none listened with more fixed attention than the two victims, their eyes often shot expressive glances, and their uplifted hands attested, at intervals, how keenly they were alive to the falsehood, the folly, and the cruelty of this parting insult. Smyth's degrading office being discharged, Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer him, or shall I?" The old man replied, "Begin you, I pray." Both martyrs then knelt towards the Lord Williams, of Thame, the Vice-Chancellor, and other commissioners entrusted with the care of their immolation, Ridley, at the same time, intreating permission to speak. He was informed, that his request would be gladly granted, and her Majesty's pardon besides, if he would recant; but that, otherwise, he must be silent. "So long as the breath is in my body," he answered, "I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me." Orders were then given, that the prisoners should make themselves ready for death. Ridley immediately divested himself of his apparel, and took from his pockets

various little articles. These, together with some of his garments, he distributed to different acquaintances around, and highly gratified, though melancholy, was the countenance of every one who walked away from the pyre with a relic, however insignificant. Latimer gave nothing, but he quietly allowed his worn-out external clothing to be removed. A new shroud was now seen to envelop his aged frame, and he stood erect to a degree long unobserved in him, a majestic image of senility clad in the weeds of death. Ridley having prepared himself for his mortal agony, thus ejaculated: "O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, to take mercy upon this realm of England, and to deliver the same from all her enemies." A smith now approached to make the martyrs secure by means of an iron chain. "Good fellow, knock in the staple hard," said the deprived Bishop of London, "for the flesh will have its course." He requested afterwards the Lord Williams to represent at court the cases of those individuals who had suffered from Boner's refusal to recognise the leases granted by him when in the see of London. A lighted faggot being then thrown by his feet, Latimer turned to him, and said, in the full assurance of faith: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle, as, I trust, shall never be extinguished." Bags of gunpowder were disposed about the persons of the victims by the kind care of Rid-

ley's brother-in-law[y]; and in Latimer's case, probably, this precaution shortened the final struggle: for when the flame approached, the good old man was observed to spread his arms, as if embracing the fiery visitor, and having loudly cried, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul," he seemed to find a speedy deliverance from the pangs of death. His companion was far from being thus favoured. At first he stood in momentary expectation of his end, repeating both in Latin and in English, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord receive my soul." At length, however, excruciating torments extorted from him anxious appeals to the humanity of those around him. Furze formed the basis of the pyre, and it burned at first with crackling impetuosity: above it were heaped faggots of wood, in injudicious abundance, and these long presented to the spectator's eye a dense and smouldering mass. Hence combustion struggled for a vent beneath the victim's feet, while every vital part preserved its energies unimpaired. The frightful agonies which racked his frame

[y] Dorman, afterwards a polemic upon the Romish side, who was present at this martyrdom, represents this employment of gunpowder as derogatory to the dignity of character assigned by their friends to the sufferers. He tauntingly says, that the martyrdom of Polycarp was attended by no such timid precautions against its severity. Dean Nowell, however, in answer to this unfeeling reflection, justly observes, that the writer might take shame to himself for witnessing such a horrid spectacle with this cavilling indifference; and he reminds him, that Ignatius expressed his determination to provoke the wild beasts which were to be his executioners, in order that they might the sooner terminate his sufferings. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 387.

now forced him to cry, with thrilling importunity, "Oh, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me." Scarcely master of himself, on hearing this distressing exclamation, his brother-in-law ran to the pyre, and heaped more faggots about the martyr. This unhappy error lent new horrors to the scene. The sufferer was hardly visible, but a voice of intense emotion sounded incessantly from amidst the smoking pile of unconsumed fuel, now ejaculating, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come unto me:" now, "Lord, have mercy upon me." At length a bystander cleared away the faggots, and opened a passage for the flame. It was now seen that the victim's lower extremities were wholly consumed, while the fire had so little injured the trunk, that even his shirt on one side was not materially discoloured. A vent, however, was no sooner opened on that side, than the flame rushed fiercely upwards. The tortured martyr eagerly turned himself that way, the gunpowder immediately exploded, and he was observed to move no more. His frame supported for awhile its position at the stake, and then fell amidst the heap of ashes in which it had been marked were to be sought the remains of Latimer[z].

Among the spectators of this barbarous immolation was Julius Palmer, a fellow of Magdalen-college. From that house he had been expelled in the

[z] Foxe, 1607. Mr. Butler (Book of the Roman Cath. Church, p. 222.) asks the following question respecting Latimer: "Was he not actively and prominently engaged in the treasons against Mary?" To this calumnious enquiry, the negative monosyllable is a sufficient answer. See p. 49, of this volume.

last reign as an obstinate and offensive assertor of Romish principles. He had, however, no sooner lost his fellowship in this cause, than he began to doubt its goodness; and when restored soon after Mary's accession, his religious opinions had become nearly identical with those of his recent adversaries. Interested hypocrisy was a charge which he commonly brought, in King Edward's time, against the Reformers. If these men, he said, were once exposed to persecution, all the world would quickly see the slightness of their characters. The noble resolution with which they had undergone imprisonment and poverty, gave a new shock to his yielding prejudices; but he still doubted, whether Protestant principles would support their holders at the stake. His train of thought often leading him to such speculations, he paid the travelling expences of a pupil, who was willing to witness the martyrdom of Bishop Hooper. This youth's account, on returning from Gloucester, strengthened Palmer's belief in the soundness of the Protestant cause. He now determined to watch with his own eyes the dying behaviour of Latimer and Ridley, and he returned from the heart-rending scene totally overpowered. "O raging cruelty; O tyranny, tragical, and more than barbarous;" were the exclamations which the morning's horrors repeatedly wrested from him. Henceforward Palmer was a decided Protestant; and after various attempts made by his friends to recover him for Popery, he again lost his fellowship. Being an excellent scholar he obtained the situation of school-master at Reading, but this appointment he was quickly forced

to relinquish; and in July, 1556, he was burnt as an heretic, together with two other impugners of Romish opinions [a].

On the 21st of October the Parliament met, and held a short but stormy session. Mary had already resigned to ecclesiastical uses the lands once belonging to the Church, but actually vested in the crown [b]. She was now bent upon abandoning her claim to the first-fruits and tenths of benefices, considering this impost as intended to support the dignity of Supreme Head, which she had renounced as schismatical. This liberality, however, was far from agreeable to the people generally; with whom, indeed, the government and the clergy were daily becoming more odious and contemptible [c]. When it was proposed, accordingly, to vote supplies, a violent opposition agitated the Lower House. "What justice is there," it was asked, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal? Rather should the clergy, to whom flows this royal profusion, sacrifice largely from their own resources for the relief of their benefactress." It was urged in reply, that the Convocation actually had voted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound. At length supplies were carried considerably below those originally proposed. Mary's resignation of the first-fruits and tenths, and of impropriations vested in the crown, was also legalised, after a serious opposition in the

[a] Foxe, 1761.

[b] March 28. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 483.

[c] Ibid. 504.

House of Commons. It was, however, found impossible either to carry a bill of penalties levelled against the Duchess of Suffolk, and some others, who had taken refuge abroad against the persecution raging in England; or another bill for incapacitating certain persons to act as justices of the peace; it being known that the individuals whom it was intended to remove were obnoxious upon the score of their disinclination to aid the court's intolerance. The whole conduct of this Parliament was indeed unsatisfactory to the government, and it was accordingly dissolved upon the 9th of December[d].

Never were Bishop Gardiner's abilities and energy displayed to greater advantage than at the opening of this Parliament[e]; but these powerful and splendid efforts exhausted his physical strength. After two days' attendance in the House, death summoned him away in a tone which allowed him no hope of escape. His mortal seizure is said by some to have been a suppression of urine[f]; by others, a violent attack of gout[g]. Probably it was that complication of disorders, under which the human constitution often unexpectedly gives way. Gardiner's bodily sufferings, during his final struggle with mortality, seem to have been intense; but his mental anguish was infinitely more severe. The spirit passing from a virtuous life, spent amidst few temptations, may reasonably feel anxious at the prospect of a speedy

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 508.
[e] Polus Philippo R. Ep. v. 46.
[f] Foxe, 1622.
[g] Godwin, Annal. 126.

reckoning with infinite purity and intelligence. Gardiner's earthly course had, however, abounded with temptations, and he certainly had yielded to them with a facility far from satisfactory to a vigorous intellect hovering upon the verge of eternity. The well-founded indignation of his Protestant contemporaries has probably exaggerated his moral obliquities; but worldliness like Gardiner's is seldom unsullied by private vices, and therefore, in charging him with licentiousness [h], it is likely that his political enemies have done him no injustice. In public life he certainly trifled lamentably with his responsibility as a Christian. Men who rise, like him, from obscurity to splendour, not uncommonly have aided their advancement by devices far from strictly conscientious. Even if Gardiner's rise, however, had escaped this contamination, his day of prosperity was abundantly fruitful in causes to disquiet the bed of death. Under King Henry nothing could be more contemptible than his conduct; under the present Queen, nothing more hateful. It was a miserable alleviation of his guilt, as first minister of the crown, that he was able and active in mere politics, both foreign and domestic. He had other duties to perform, and he basely overlooked them. His eye was fixed, it was believed, upon a cardinal's hat, upon the archbishopric of Canterbury [i], and upon the office of

[h] Contemporary Letter, cited by Strype, (Eccl. Mem. iii. 465.) attributing Gardiner's illness to his notorious intemperance and incontinence. The Bishop was reported to have kept a mistress named Godsalve, and other women. Ibid. 173.

[i] Godwin, Annal. 125.

legate *a latere,* now possessed by Pole. Probably from anxiety to possess himself of these idle gratifications, undoubtedly from a desire of retaining his present power, he became the blood-stained tool of Mary's unrelenting fanaticism. The Queen had obstinately shut her ears against religious knowledge [k], and went probably to her grave in perfect ignorance of the principles which caused her to shed a torrent of the best blood in England. But Gardiner was considerably versed in the questions which agitated his time: he had examined the papal pretensions, to which every thing Romish mainly looks for support, and he had found them utterly untenable. He had also studied the doctrines of the Reformers sufficiently to know, that they rest upon grounds far from easy to overthrow. That he should have lent himself, therefore, to the sanguinary persecution which raged during the last ten months of his life, could hardly fail of strewing gall and wormwood along his passage to the tomb. Those who marked the conflict of his soul endeavoured, vainly, as it almost seemed, to allay its bitterness, by the healing balm of religious consolation. When he sorrowfully adverted to the sinful character of his life, they exhorted him to reflect, that even St. Peter had grossly fallen, but was, notwithstanding, graciously received. "Alas!" replied the agonised prelate, "I have indeed erred with Peter; but I have not, like him, gone out and wept bitterly [l]." This distressing

[k] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 615.

[l] St. Matt. xxvi. 75.

scene was, however, of no long continuance. Gardiner died at Westminster on the 12th of November. His body was then conveyed by water to his house in Southwark. His bowels were interred in the neighbouring church of St. Mary Overy; the final resting place of his other earthly remains was a vault in the cathedral of Winchester [m]. To the Protestants his death appeared a seasonable relief, and they calculated immediately upon some respite from those horrid sufferings, which his administration had entailed upon them [n].

But this expectation was fatally deceived. Gardiner left the world amidst preparations for new holocausts of human victims, and his departure suspended not this murderous activity. John Philpot was the most remarkable individual now spurred forward to the crown of martyrdom. He was the son of an opulent gentleman seated near Winchester, and he received his education in the two St. Mary Winton colleges. His abilities and application being of no common order, he made a great proficiency in his favourite study, that of languages, especially in the Hebrew [o]. He farther improved his

[m] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 449.

[n] Bp. Boner thus adverted to the expectation of relief, in which the Protestants indulged, on Gardiner's death: "Nay, you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you do recant." Examination of the constant martyr of Christ, John Philpot, &c. p. 61. No place, date, or printer's name. It is a small 12mo. printed from Philpot's MS. and most probably during Mary's reign.

[o] Philpot's original intention was to follow the civil law. This

mind by means of foreign travel, and taking abroad a disbelief of Romanism, in Italy he narrowly escaped the Inquisition [p]. His examination, however, of polemics led him, for some time only, to a conclusion that the papal religion is false: it sufficed not to render him a pious disciple of the Reformers. At length his indifference, or doubts, being removed, he took holy orders, and became a zealous preacher of scriptural principles; a line of conduct which involved him in serious disputes with his ordinary, Bishop Gardiner, at the beginning of King Edward's reign [q]. That prelate had granted him the archdeaconry of Winchester in reversion, a nomination which took effect under Bp. Poynet [r]. Archdeacon Philpot gave violent offence to Mary's government by his spirited advocacy of the reformed faith in the Lower House of Convocation: and he rendered himself still more obnoxious by publishing a written account of that

fact, joined to that of his proficiency in Hebrew, draws the following reflection from Persons: "Foxe noteth that he gave himself to the study of tongues, especially to the Hebrew tongue, which, he being a lawyer, doth well shew, that even then he was touched with some humour of new fancies, the Hebrew tongue being little needful to that profession." (Three Conv. iii. 287.) This is, however, an idle surmise; for Philpot thus answered a question put to him by Boner, as to his faith twenty years before: "Indeed, my Lord, to tell you plain, I was then *nullius fidei*, of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold." (Examinations, &c. *ut supra*, 13.) Philpot was forty-four years old at the time of his examinations.

[p] Examinations, &c. 35.

[q] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 438.

[r] Examinations, &c. 2.

famous debate. This relation was resolutely charged with falsehood by the Romish party, and even to the reporter's face upon more than one of his examinations. But Philpot dared his accusers to the proof of their assertions, and they declined his challenge [s]. Shortly after his appearance in the Convocation House, he was excommunicated as contumacious, without any personal citation, illegally deprived of his archdeaconry, and committed to the King's Bench prison [t]. On the 2d of October, he was brought to the sessions-house, by Newgate, before the Queen's commissioners, and after receiving very brutal incivility from Story, who was one of this board, he was committed to Bishop Boner's custody, and lodged in the coal-house attached to the episcopal palace. This was a dark and miserable hovel, communicating with another shed, in which was a high pair of stocks, contrived for confining both hands and feet [u]. The days were now short, and the season inclement, yet the persons confined in this vile abode, seven in number, were allowed neither fire nor candle, nor any bed but straw [x].

[s] Examinations, &c. 55. 100.

[t] Ibid. 8. 100. 90. 113.

[u] Ibid. 10.

[x] Ibid. 14. 42. One of Philpot's fellow-prisoners was a clergyman from Essex, who had been before confined as a heretic, and was then alarmed into a recantation. He had no sooner, however, purchased his liberty by this compliance than his misery became extreme, and having, under some pretence, desired subsequently to see his recantation, he tore it in pieces. "Of the which, when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly

They reclined, however, upon this wretched couch, we are assured by Philpot, as cheerfully as others do upon beds of down; and the tuneful voice of psalmody oft resounding from their murky den, admonished every listening ear, that external evils fall powerless before the testimony of a good conscience. With the exception of consigning him to such a lodging, Boner at first treated Philpot with courtesy, and he did not neglect to supply him occasionally both with food and wine. He complained, moreover of the hardship of being called upon to decide cases properly cognisable by other bishops, and he expressed his fears lest this necessity should bring upon him a degree of obloquy which he did not merit[y]. The pretences for requiring Boner's

bishop, buffeted him well, and plucked away a great piece of his beard. But now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry for his former infirmity." Examinations, 10.

[y] Boner said to Philpot, on the Archdeacon's first appearance before him: "I am right sorry for your trouble. And I promise you, before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither: for I promise you, I know nothing thereof as yet: neither I would you should not think, that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters. But I must be obedient to my betters. And I wis (fancy) men speak otherwise of me than I deserve." (Ibid. 12.) The phrase "other men" probably refers to Gardiner, for Philpot thus introduces the account of his second appearance before the royal commissioners, in Newgate sessions-house: "At my coming, a man of Aldgate, of mine acquaintance, said unto me; God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for D. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor hath

interference in this instance were Philpot's utterance of language, termed heretical, in the Convocation-House, which is within the diocese of London, and his subsequent adherence to the same sentiments when a prisoner in the same diocese. Both these grounds were treated as manifestly unjust by the accused. The debate which brought him into trouble, was not, he said, moved by himself, but by the Prolocutor, and he insisted upon his right to speak freely upon every subject which came before the House, inasmuch as the Convocation is a part of Parliament. Lord Rich very justly denied this character to the Convocation[z]; but that assembly must, notwithstanding, obviously possess the parliamentary privilege of guaranteeing to the members freedom of debate. As for the sentiments which he maintained in prison, Philpot argued that Boner had no right to sit in judgment upon them, because he was confined both against justice and his own will within the diocese of London. He, therefore, declined the jurisdiction before which he was brought, maintaining, that if he had committed any canonical offence, it was cognisable only by his own ordinary, the Bishop of Winchester. He was also very unwilling to commit himself by answering questions intended to entrap him into an avowal of opinions deemed heretical. As his examinations,

commanded to do you away." (Examinations, 6.) This conversation took place on the 24th of October, probably the very day of Gardiner's mortal seizure. Who can wonder at the agonies of such a man's parting spirit?

[z] Ibid. 44.

however, were numerous, and some of them conducted before prelates, and other individuals of eminent attainments, a considerable mass of theological matter was extracted from him. In these encounters Philpot's learning and acuteness appeared to great advantage. The general return of England to Romanism, and the multitudes elsewhere professing that religion were urged upon him as evidences of its truth. He replied, that in Elijah's time, only that prophet, and a very small proportion of the Israelites retained the true Mosaic faith [a]. Controversies, he maintained, were to be decided by the Word of God, and difficulties of expounding this, by the voice of the primitive Church [b]. According to custom, the text *Thou art Peter*, &c. was alleged as an irrefragable ground of the papal supremacy. Philpot answered, that this argument must go for nothing, unless it extended to a proof of our Lord's intention to build his Church upon Rome [c]. The Church now denominated from that city, was, he maintained, no more doctrinally similar to that established by St. Peter there, "than an apple is like a nut [d]." Being required to state the particulars of this alleged discrepancy, he cited transubstantiation, and the papal supremacy, as its most conspicuous features. The former of these doctrines, it was admitted, had

[a] 1 Kings, xviii. xix.
[b] Examinations, &c. 25.
[c] Ibid. 31.
[d] Ibid. 33.

been defined by the Roman Church at a period comparatively recent, but it was asserted that such had been the papal faith from Apostolic times. This assertion Philpot defied the maker of it, Curtop by name, to prove, and that individual disposed of the challenge by quietly leaving the room[e]. Upon another occasion, Philpot offered to prove the catholicity of his Church and faith by the three following marks, antiquity, universality, and unity. Boner treated this offer as an idle boast, and asked, "By what doctor art thou able to prove this Church? Name him, and thou shalt have him." The reply was: "My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers with pen, ink, and paper; and I will prove both my faith, and my Church out of every one of them." On this Bishop Boner immediately retracted his promise, and flew off to a vague assertion, speedily refuted on the other side, that Cyprian furnishes an authority for the papal supremacy[f]. On a subsequent day, Philpot was asked: "How old is your religion?" He answered: "Older than yours by a thousand years and more." Its visibility in recent times, he added, was proved by the preaching of Wickliffe, Huss, and others[g]. At length all hopes of perverting Philpot either by means of argu-

[e] Examinations, &c. 34.

[f] Ibid. 64.

[g] Ibid. 108. 116. Philpot scribbled in the best manner allowed by the want of sufficient light, and proper materials for writing, this interesting account of some of his last troubles. The writing he contrived to secrete about his person, although searched for the purpose of being deprived of any papers.

ment, or of intimidation were abandoned, and Bishop Boner proceeded to give judgment upon him, in the consistory of St. Paul's. He was condemned as one who obstinately continued at variance with the Catholic Church, especially with regard to transubstantiation, and the missal sacrifice. Sentence having been passed upon him, he was delivered to the sheriffs, and by their orders lodged in Newgate. In passing through the streets he said to the crowd: "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day." In his way to death[h] he was not only resigned, he was even cheerful; and on entering the place appropriated to his exit from a persecuting world, he piously dropped upon his knees, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield." As was usual upon these melancholy occasions, he kissed the stake; and he then thus gave utterance to his thoughts; "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not disdain to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me? Before he prepared for his final agony, he enquired of the officers around what services they had severally rendered in making ready for his burning. Having received the required answers, he gave to each of them money. Of his last sufferings the particulars are unrecorded: hence it may reasonably be presumed, that his tortured frame did not long impede the soul from winging her joyous flight to the realms of everlasting peace[i].

Atrocious as had been the domestic administration

[h] December 18.
[i] Foxe 1661.

of England during this memorable year[k]; no reserve was used to hide for a while the speculative deformity of the principles which had overspread the land with horror and indignation. So confident were the ecclesiastical authorities in the ultimate success of their seductive principles, gaudy services, and unsparing cruelties, that they ventured to publish a manual for popular instruction, than which few things could be more insulting and intolerable to minds imbued with scriptural knowledge. Queen Mary's Primer, which made its privileged appearance in this year, is a book embodying, with infatuated fearlessness, a large proportion of the folly and the poison offered by the Roman Church to her unsuspecting children. In this little work, it is of course professed that the Ten Commandments are to be found, and for their original authority the reader is referred to the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy. But bibles were now sealed books, and those who governed the church forgot or cared not how lately it had been otherwise. Among the Ten Commandments, accordingly, the scriptural reader will look in vain for any trace of the second[l]. A similar dis-

[k] "So this year ended, in which were sixty-seven burnt for religion: and of these four were bishops, and thirteen were priests." Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 515.

[l] The following is Queen Mary's Decalogue: "1. Thou shalt not have strange gods in my sight. 2. Thou shalt not usurp the name of thy God in vain. 3. Observe the Sabbath-day. 4. Honour thy father and mother. 5. Thou shalt not kill. 6. Thou shalt not do adultery. 7. Thou shalt do no theft. 8. Thou shalt not speak false witness against thy neighbour.

regard of the sound religious information afloat in all parts of the country is shewn in a succession of prayers addressed to the saintly mediators of Romish creation, especially to the Virgin Mary. Perhaps, however, no one of these departed spirits figures more offensively in this publication than Archbishop Becket; for it is blasphemously assumed, that through his blood individuals may attain the joys of heaven[m]. With equal freedom does the compiler draw upon the legendary theology of Romanism. St. Nicholas's voluntary abstinences from his mother's milk on fasting days are intelligibly, though delicately brought

9. Thou shalt not desire the wife of thy neighbour. 10. Thou shalt not desire the goods of thy neighbour." "The Primer in Latin and English, after the use of Sarum, with many godly and devout prayers, as in the contents doth appear. Whereunto is added a plain and godly treatise concerning the mass, and the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, for the instruction of the unlearned and simple people. Imprinted at London, by John Waylande, at the sign of the Sun in Fleet-street, over against the great conduit. Anno Domini MDLV. Cum privilegio per septennium." The book is not paged.

[m] "Of Sainct Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anthem.

"We pray thee, through Sainct Thomas' blood,
Which he for thee did spend,
O Christ to cause us thither climb,
Whither Thomas did ascend."

The following is the Latin original of these verses:

"Tu, per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos, Christe, scandere quo Thomas ascendit."

to the reader's notice [n]. The body of St. Catharine, we are told, was carried by angels to Mount Sinai. St. George saved a despairing princess from a terrible dragon [o]. It is not, indeed, to be denied, that

[n] The following is the anthem in which this portion of medieval mythology is related in monkish rhyme:

"Beatus Nicolaus
Adhuc puerulus
Multo jejunio
Macerabat corpus."

This metrical specimen is rendered into the following plain prose: "Blessed Saint Nicholas, being yet a child, did subdue his body with much fasting." The collect is this: "O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his *merits* and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell. By Christ our Lord. Amen."

[o] The following devotional pieces celebrate this gallant and redoubtable knight.

"Georgi, martyr inclyte, te decet laus et gloria,
Perdotatum militia, quem puella regia exiens in tristitia,
Coram dracone pessimo,
Salvata est; ex animo—te rogamus corde intimo
Ut cum cunctis fidelibus, cœli jungamur civibus,
Nostris ablutis sordibus;
Et simul cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria,
Nostraque reddant labia, laudes Christo cum gratia.

"O George, the famous martyr, laud and glory becometh thee, adorned with knighthood, through whom the King's daughter, going forth in heaviness, was saved from fear of the terrible dragon: with heart and mind we beseech thee, that by thy prayer we, being clean from all filthiness, may be united to all the faithful citizens of heaven, and with joy may be with thee in glory, so that our lips may give thanks to Christ with favour.

even the larger portion of this primer is unexceptionable. Several psalms, and many prayers worthy

"Let us pray.

"O Almighty and everlasting God, which being benign and gentle dost ever hear with favour the call of them that pray unto thee, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that like as thou causedst the fearful dragon to be overthrown by a maid in the honour, and at the prayer of thy blessed and glorious martyr, George: even so now, through his intercession and supplication, grant us, O Lord, to overcome all our enemies visible and invisible, that they be not hable to hurt us, through our Lord, Jesus Christ, thy Son, which liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, very God, world without end. Amen."

"St. George, among the Papists is a renowned saint. But such a saint, as they report George to be, was never in the world. First, it is said, that he conquered Palestine. *Palestinam,* saith he, *Christo favente devici.* Secondly, that a dragon did eat up daily two sheep, and afterward, a child and a sheep, and in the end, that the King's daughter of Silena was to be given to the dragon. Thirdly, that the dragon kept (lived) in a lake. Belike it was a flying fish. Fourthly, that St. George made the dragon to follow this maiden like a gentle dog: *sequebatur eam velut mansuetissimus canis:* that St. George killed the dragon, and that he was so big that uneth (not less than) four yoke of oxen could draw him out of the city. Finally, that this conqueror of kingdoms and dragon-queller, after he had converted Queen Alexandra, should be tormented and slain by Datianus, an obscure king of an unknown kingdom. Matters not only without all ground or testimony of story, but most absurdly and ridiculously devised. Baronius himself confesseth, that the killing of the dragon is symbolical, that is, a signification of something represented by this similitude." Sutcliffe's Threefold Answer to Persons' Three Conversions. 155.

It is obvious, that the legend of St. George is a mere naturalisation among Christians of the Pagan allegories which symbolise the deluge. A formidable sea-serpent called Typhon, or what

of a Christian are intermingled amidst the mass of silly fictions, and impious departures from apostolical truth. As a whole, however, this publication is highly disgraceful, both to the theological reputation and to the worldly discretion of those who authorised it. After infinite pains had been taken, during several years, to wean the people from mediæval corruptions, it surely was most injudicious abruptly to recall the public attention to the most absurd and offensive features in the melancholy picture of Europe's intellectual eclipse.

not, was vanquished by some heaven-assisted personage. In other words, the Divine favour, extended to pious Noah and his family, enabled them to ride securely over the flood which arose to sweep away a race of men wholly corrupted by the Old Serpent's temptations. The gigantic St. Christopher, who is said to have carried Christ safely over a mighty flood, is another instance in which the same heathen allegory has enriched the stores of Romish mythology.

CHAPTER IV.

Archbishop Cranmer's letter to the Queen—Cardinal Pole's letters to Archbishop Cranmer—Degradation of Archbishop Cranmer—Artifices used to work upon his feelings—His dissimulation—His martyrdom—Consecration of Cardinal Pole—His canons—Continuance of the persecution—Supplication from Norfolk and Suffolk—The English exiles—Knox—Troubles at Francfort—Recantation of Sir John Cheke—Visitation of the Universities—Revival of English monachism—Commission of enquiry into cases of heresy—Execution of the Lord Stourton—Papal attack upon Cardinal Pole—The loss of Calais—Extent of the Marian persecution—The Queen's death—Her character—Death of Cardinal Pole.

HAVING been withdrawn from the presence of his judges, Archbishop Cranmer determined upon addressing the Queen. His object in forming this resolve was not to seek for life or favour, but merely to do his obvious duty in attempting to furnish Mary with some of that information which she so lamentably needed. He wrote, accordingly, two letters to her, and sent, besides, a sealed packet with strict injunctions that it should be delivered into none other than the royal hands[a]. In his manly and dignified epistles, he assures her Majesty, that he refused to recognise the commission of Bishop Brookes, merely because that prelate acted under

[a] Abp. Cranmer to the Doctors Martin and Story. Foxe, 1717.

an authority which he had solemnly sworn to renounce, and which, as he proves at some length, is repugnant to the constitution of England. The proofs of this latter fact, he charitably assumes, could not have been considered in the course of recent parliamentary proceedings, when England formally owned the supremacy of Rome. A collateral reason for resisting the papal pretensions is urged by the Archbishop from the spiritual evils undeniably flowing from them. Religion was revealed from above for the purpose of enlightening the human mind. Romish policy, however, promotes intellectual darkness, as is most plainly shewn by its obstinate adherence to a liturgy popularly unintelligible. The magnitude of this abuse was denied, Cranmer says, by none of the scholars employed in liturgic labours by King Edward's government. All these eminent persons, however otherwise differing, agreed that public prayers ought to be in the vernacular tongue, and admitted that the contrary usage was forbidden by St. Paul [b]. Other

[b] "When a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where, indeed, that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is, indeed, the old) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the Church; *it was agreed by both, without controversy, not one saying contrary, that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother-tongue;* and that St. Paul, in the 14th chapter to the Corinthians was to be so understood." (Abp. Cranmer to Queen Mary. Foxe, 1715.) Bp. Ridley

reasons for declining the Pope's authority are drawn from that dignitary's refusal of the sacramental cup to laymen, and from his pretensions to the right of absolving subjects from allegiance to their princes. It is also said, that the Roman see cannot be safely followed, because it maintains transubstantiation; a doctrine incapable of proof by means of any authentic monuments of the Catholic Church, during the first thousand years of her existence. Finally, the Queen is intreated to consider, whether any engagement to obey the Pope on her part, is compatible with her coronation oath [c].

These letters were submitted by Mary to Cardinal Pole, who undertook to answer them. Of the spirit in which he was likely to accomplish this, a judgment may be formed from the manner in which, writing to King Philip, he designates Cranmer. "He that formerly presided over the church of Canterbury [d]," is Pole's mode of describing a man every

also thus wrote from Bocardo, in Oxford, on the 18th of April, 1554, to West, once his chaplain. "When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's Word, agreed this to be a truth in God's Word written, that the common prayer of the Church should be had in the common tongue. *You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you I never found man, so far as I do remember, neither old nor new, Gospeller, nor Papist, of what judgment so ever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion.*" Letters of the Martyrs, 43.

[c] Foxe, 1717. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 541.

[d] "Qui olim Cantuariensi ecclesiæ præfuit, cujus damnationis sententia Roma nunc expectatur, is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, atque se cupere mecum loqui; si ad pœnitentiam revocari possit ex proximis literis Patris Soti expectamus, et Majes-

way his superior, excepting in the accidental advantage of birth; a matter, however, in which the individual thus pointed out by a contemptuous periphrasis, was far from unfortunate. It appears likely that the Cardinal's authority had been alleged by the foreign friars, who haunted Cranmer's cell, as a reason why he should resume communion with the Roman Church. Now the Archbishop was among the most candid and modest of mankind; hence he was ever willing to consider the arguments of an opponent. He was also well aware, that many active Romanists were acquainted but imperfectly with existing controversies: he, therefore, naturally expressed a desire to confer with Pole. The Legate, ever intent upon display, could not resist this new opportunity of exercising his polemical abilities. The gist of Cranmer's letters to the Queen is the inconsistency of modern Popery with the English constitution, with the words of Scripture, and with the decisions of the Catholic Church for more than a thousand years. Pole meets these questions by a diffuse and feeble tissue of vague assertions, capable of bringing satisfaction to no well-informed, acute, and enquiring mind. For authorities as to the antiquity of transubstantiation, Cranmer is referred to Bishop Tunstall's book upon the Eucharist. The Cardinal does not, however, forget to season his epistle with some of those personalities, which never failed to flow from his pen when his passions were

tatem Vestram certiorem faciemus." Polus Philippo R. Ep. v. 47. 84.

excited. Especially is Cranmer's oath to the Pope, on consecration to the see of Canterbury, made a heavy ground of accusation against him; but it is worthy of remark, that his correspondent charges the Archbishop with incurring thus the guilt of perjury from desire of obtaining a station, which would enable him to reform the national Church[e].

Having finished this epistle, Pole appears to have been unable wholly to conceal a suspicion of its inanity even from himself; he determined, therefore, upon sending it to Oxford, in the company of ano-

[e] "But here you deceive yourself again, and would deceive other, making your defence of your simulate oath, *that you did the same so for the more service of God, having in your mind then to reform the Church;* to the which being no way, but to make that oath for a countenance; this you thought, for such a purpose, might be acceptable before God." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Append. 983.) In another passage, Pole asks, "What more plain sentence can be against you, *if you have a thousand reformations in your mind?*" (Ibid. 974.) From this, and many other similar passages, it may be inferred perhaps, not unreasonably, that the Romanists were loud in their accusations of perjury against Cranmer, and that some of his own party defended him by saying, that he had no means of obtaining a situation in which he meant to confer extensive benefits upon his country, but by some rather disingenuous management respecting the oath at consecration. The reason why this imputation of perfidy was so much charged upon Cranmer by his enemies, is obvious enough: the whole body of Romish clergy was glaringly perjured. We know that the Protestants did not forget to upbraid their persecutors with this blemish, and individuals thus assailed would naturally look out for recriminations.

It should be observed, that Pole represents Cranmer's protest to have been made privately; but little attention is due to the statements which an angry partizan may relate at second hand.

ther communication yet more bulky[f]. Some of the sycophants about him affected to represent, that neither as a Christian, nor as a judge, ought he to hold any intercourse with a lost offender like Cranmer. This advice, however, merely served to administer that food to his vanity, which it was intended to supply. He launched out immediately into a description of the character which he was bound to maintain as the representative of him who is the earthly vicar of a mighty King; incarnate to save, not to condemn[g]. With this flattering view of himself he

[f] Pole's first epistle is in English, and is dated from "the court, at St. James's, November 6, 1555." The second epistle, or, more properly, treatise, is in Latin, and is preserved, though not in a complete state, among the Harleian MSS. (No. 417.) in the British Museum. Le Grand (Hist. du Divorce, i. 260.) has printed a French translation of this piece, from a MS. in the royal library at Paris. His object in this publication appears to have been to support his own abuse of Cranmer by the contemporary authority of Pole; otherwise he probably would not have chosen to draw from obscurity this specimen of the Cardinal's temper and talents; for he is driven to confess, that his style is somewhat declamatory: "*Quoique ce style de Polus sente un peu le declamateur.*" From Le Grand's work, this French translation has been transferred to the fifth volume of Pole's epistles. The English writers have neglected this piece, as it might seem, from its prolix, feeble, declamatory, and virulent character. A short abstract of its contents may, however, be seen in Neve's Animadversions upon Phillips, 517.

[g] "*Omnis, qui recedit et non permanet in doctrina Christi, Deum non habet. Qui permanet in doctrina, hic Patrem et Filium habet. Si quis venit ad vos, et hanc doctrinam non affert, nolite recipere eum in domum, nec Ave ei dixeris. Qui enim dicit ei Ave, communicat operibus ejus malignis.* Hæc ille dilectus Christo discipulus. Quid, igitur, ego ad te scribens,

commenced a tedious and declamatory address to his insulted correspondent. He then insists, but without even a pretence of offering any proof, that Cranmer had forsaken that doctrine of the Eucharist, which the universal Church had ever maintained, and which all his predecessors in the see of Canterbury had uninterruptedly taught. So criminal, we are told, is this alleged departure, that Pole declares himself justified, as a mere private member of the Church, in calling down a consuming fire from heaven upon the Archbishop's head. In vindication of a judgment so severe, he charges Cranmer with ejecting a zealous prince from the Church; not indeed by force, but by crafty counsel: the very

quem a doctrina Christi et Ecclesiæ jampridem recessisse tam aperte constat, qui eam omnibus modis oppugnare pergis, an contra hoc præceptum facio? Hoc equidem nolim; etsi non defuerunt qui, hoc meo ad te scribendi consilio cognito, his Joannis Apostoli verbis auctoritateque studerent me ab eo deducere; cum dicerent hoc ipsum ad te scribere plus esse quam si te in domum reciperem; perinde enim esse ac si ipse in domum ad te accederem, tuoque hospitio uterer; quod si cæteris non liceat, multo minus mihi convenire, qui in hoc regno ejus personam sustineo ad quem de te judicandi jus spectat: neque enim si æquum non est, inquiunt, judicem apud reum diversari, æquum videri debet, ab eo alias ad reum mitti literas nisi quæ illum ad judicium ipsum citent, et ad judicii terrorem incutiendum pertineant. At ego me ejus judicis personam gerere intelligo, qui in terris vicarius est magni illius Regis, qui non ad damnandum venit, sed ad servandum, et a Deo judex omnium constitutus, ante supremi illius judicii diem, ejus periculum, ut ab eo nos liberaret, exponere, omnesque servandi modos experiri voluit." Polus Cranmero, Bibl. Harl. 417.

weapon by which Satan ejected man from paradise. After this rhetorical effusion, the writer seems to have recollected, that other individuals, besides the object of his address, had actively concurred in this ejection of King Henry from the Roman Church. But as most of these persons had now come over again to his own side, he was anxious to make some shew of shielding them by a passing apology. He therefore says that they, having been attacked on the right hand and on the left, at length assented, after a long resistance[h]. Cranmer is then charged with accepting the primacy upon an understanding that he was to annul the Aragonese marriage[i]; with arrogating to himself the right of deciding a cause then pending before the pontiff; with mocking the

[h] "Qui tecum velit comparare cæteros qui in eadem causa fuerunt, eorum vicem commiserans, merito doleat, tibi graviter succenseat, atque indignetur: illi enim magnis tentationibus et a dextris et a sinistris oppugnati, cum iis diu restitissent, tandem impio consilio assensi sunt." (Ibid.) This brief and vague apology for the tergiversation of the Romish party, is, however, manifestly false. Warham conceded the supremacy, and Gardiner advocated the divorce, when Cranmer was merely an obscure scholar. Nor did Tunstall, or any other leading ecclesiastic, dissent from most of the reforms effected in King Henry's reign. Nor were these eminent persons assailed by any temptation in their anti-papal career, except the prospect of advancing themselves in the royal favour: no very satisfactory ground certainly for the adoption of principles wholly or partially disapproved, especially by men who had already attained the summit of their profession.

[i] See the passage in a note, Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 358.

King, by pretending to force him into a divorce, under the threat of ecclesiastical censures[k]; and with dismissing the Queen, by a most iniquitous sentence. He is said to have highly offended God by the pride and ambition which led him to broach a new opinion upon the Eucharist. Afterwards he is charged with a longing desire for honours and riches, and with keeping a concubine in the place of a wife. The railing accuser then returns to the divorce once more, and asserts it as a notorious fact, that the

[k] "Quid enim aliud nisi illusio fuit, cum pluribus eum hortabare ut, quod ipsum constabat omnibus modis conari, uxorem a se dimitteret? Deinde quasi diffideres hoc te illi persuasurum, *additis censurarum minis*, nonne magis ei illudebas, quem scirent omnes neque divinarum neque humanarum legum metu, ut eam diutius retineret adduci posse? Quid vero an non tecum ipse ridebas *cum tanquam severus judex Regi minas intentares?*" This passage is a proof of Pole's utter worthlessness as an historical guide respecting transactions with which he had no personal acquaintance. The application here referred to is the letter addressed by Cranmer to Henry, immediately before the proceedings at Dunstable. This interesting document has been published by Mr. Todd, in his excellent Historical and Critical Introduction to Cranmer's Catholic Doctrine, (xlvi.) It contains not the least hint of any censure, but merely represents that the people were dissatisfied with the unsettled aspect of the royal family, and blamed the clergy for allowing this inconvenience to pass unheeded: hence he (Cranmer) as the head of the ecclesiastical body, would be glad, under his Majesty's permission, to take cognizance of the affair in question. Very probably the Primate's letter was represented ordinarily, and especially among the Romish party, in the odious and ridiculous colours here given to it by Pole. Nothing, however, can be more false and absurd than the Cardinal's painting in this instance. See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 385.

prostrate object of his abuse was called to the archbishopric for the sole purpose of cloaking the foul lust of an individual, under the name and appearance of justice[1]. Amidst this torrent of scurrility Pole renders justice to the Archbishop in one remarkable instance. It has of late been the usage to paint Cranmer as a persecutor; and to represent, that however shameful might be the conduct of his enemies towards him, he had the less reason to complain

[1] "Quod si ad hoc munus ob eam rem te vocatum inveneris, ut fœdam hominis libidinem juris nomine ac specie prætexeris, quis dubitat, quin per ostium non sis ingressus? Ecquis autem ignorat, te ob hanc unam causam archiepiscopum esse factum?" It is worthy of remark, that Pole does not here vouch his own authority for the truth of this imputation; he only represents it as undeniably correct, on account of its public notoriety. This interrogative appeal to common fame is followed by a vague remark upon the obscurity of Cranmer previously to his obtainment of the archbishopric. Upon this, and other such passages, is founded the current Romish representation, that Cranmer was suddenly introduced to Henry by the Boleyns, for their own purposes. "Qui ante cum paucissimis notus esses, nulli magis eras ignotus quam illi qui hunc honorem tibi detulit, de quo tantum aberat, ut cæteri cogitarent, ut ne tibi quidem ipsi in mentem venire posset, alia via, nisi hac, in ovile Domini intrare posse ad officium primi pastoris in hoc regno fungendum." It is not a little curious that Pole should charge Cranmer with accepting the archbishopric upon a corrupt understanding with the King; and yet admit, in another letter, sent together with this, that his object in stooping to this baseness was the attainment of a situation in which he might reform the Church. Such pure ends are very seldom proposed to themselves by those who resort to such disreputable means. In another place, undoubtedly, the Cardinal briefly charges his insulted correspondent with a hankering after riches and honours.

of it, because he had himself treated opponents in a similar manner, and would have continued this cruelty had power remained in his hands. His contemporaries, however, appear to have thought of his case very differently. Those who respected him alleged his own kind and merciful exercise of authority as an additional ground for reprobating the severity which he had encountered. In his day of prosperity, said such reasoners, "the Archbishop caused no man's death, but treated all persons with good-nature and benignity." This testimony, so honourable to Cranmer's character, found its way even to the ears of Pole; and that ecclesiastic, unfriendly as he was to the imprisoned prelate, dared not to deny that in this his friends had done him no more than justice. He seems to have discovered no other mode of parrying an argument, so mortifying to the papal party, than by comparing the Archbishop to Satan, who destroys men by means of worldly and sensual gratifications. "Persons who defend you upon the ground of your own merciful character," writes the Cardinal to his correspondent, "know not what they say: nor do you, perhaps, know whether you may have slain any man, because you neither entered the sheep-fold of Christ with this intention, nor subsequently to your entrance have been conscious of seeking any man's blood. But here your conscience is deceived by Satan, who, homicide as he has been from the beginning, and daily as he slays men by his counsel, yet if he had to plead his cause before a human tribunal, he could easily prove to the very men whom

he is murdering that he is far from this crime; inasmuch as he persuades nothing to any person but such things as are pleasant to man in this life, things which every one especially desires, and which are eminently calculated to render a passage through the world agreeable. For what else has Satan ever proposed except honours, except riches, except pleasures, except, in fine, all things which seem to render life pleasant and plainly blest. Now if this defence by no means acquits Satan from the guilt of homicide, neither will it avail you, who have been his minister in fulfilling the King's lust and covetousness, in the base love of a woman, in honours that were unlawful (the supremacy, probably) in gaining riches and wealth unjustly (by suppressing monasteries, &c.) whom you, although you sought not his death, yet by this means killed in a most cruel manner, and through him a great many others. For you offered to him that kind of poison which defies all human aid, and you acted thus while you were cloaking his desires under the appearance of justice; in this manner, truly, you more destroyed his mind by lust, than if, pandar-like, you had brought immodest women to him; in rapine, more than if you had been his attendant and guide upon an undisguised marauding expedition[m]." The alleged end of all

[m] "*Nec vero illud ad te excusandum quicquam valet te neminem mactasse, sed benignum facilemque erga omnes fuisse. Hoc enim audio a quibusdam de te prædicari.* Sed hi nesciunt quid dicant, nec tu quidem fortasse nosti, an quenquam occideris, quia, neque hoc animo in ovile Christi sis ingressus, *nec postquam ingressus fueris tibi conscius sis ullius te sanguinem appe-*

this calumnious declamation is, that Cranmer should imitate the penitent thief in the Gospel, and acknowledge his present sufferings to be the just reward of his former delinquencies. Amidst his offensive admonitions and imputations, the Cardinal interspérses controversial matter bearing upon the Eucharistic question, and with a considerable mass of arguments,

tisse. At hic conscientiam tuam decipit Satan, qui, etsi homicida fuit ab initio, quotidieque homines suo consilio occidit, tamen si causa ei ad hominum tribunal sit dicenda, facile, etiam apud eos ipsos quos occidit, probet longe se ab hoc crimine abesse, qui nihil cuique persuadeat nisi ea quæ homini in hac vita jucunda sunt, quæ quisque maxime expetit, et quæ ad vitam cum voluptate traducendam in primis faciunt. Quid enim aliud Satan *proposuit*, nisi honores, nisi opes, nisi voluptates, nisi denique omnia, quæ jucundam vitam ac plane beatam efficere videantur? Quod si hæc defensio Satanam ab homicidii culpa minime liberat, nec tibi quidem proderit, qui ejus minister fuisti ad libidinem et cupiditatem Regis explendam in turpi mulieris amore, in honoribus non legitimis, in divitiis atque opibus injuste comparandis, quem tu, etsi mortem ejus non appetebas, tamen hac ratione crudelissime omnium necasti, et per eum quamplurimos alios. Hoc enim veneni genus ei porrexisti, cui nulla humana ope occurri posset; idque fecisti, cum has illius cupiditates juris specie tegeres; in quo sane ejus animum per libidinem magis corrupisti, quam si leno impudicas mulieres ad eum deduxisses, in rapina autem magis, quam si comes ejus et dux ad apertum latrocinium fuisti."

Le Grand thus renders the passage in this extract, which shews that Cranmer's friends urged his own kind and bloodless use of power as an aggravation of the treatment which he received from his triumphant enemies: "Ne dites point pour votre excuse que vous n'avez tué personne, que vous avez traité tout le monde avec beaucoup de douceur, et de bonté: car je sçais que c'est ainsi que l'on parle." Pol. Ep. v. 344. See also Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. 365.

or more properly assertions, relating to this point, he closes his prolix communication. But nothing can be more feeble and unskilful than his mode of handling the weapons of controversy. He insists, as matters indisputable, that the Scriptures, the fathers, and the Catholic Church, unanimously confirm transubstantiation. Yet, (so blundering is his management,) he makes copious mention of Berenger, or the Angevin Archdeacon, as he contemptuously calls him: asserting that the opposition to transubstantiation arose from that eminent divine. Now a good papal tactician would obviously beware of placing the calumniated and oppressed Angevin conspicuously in the fore-ground of the struggle against transubstantiation. It is, indeed, raising a violent presumption against the antiquity of such a doctrine, to make it appear that there is no trace of any opposition to it until the middle of the eleventh century.

Such communications as those of Pole to Cranmer, could act upon a serious and enlightened mind only as new proofs that weakness and heartlessness extensively pervade the human race. The pretended Roman process was accordingly permitted quietly to run its course. But the Pope seemed unwilling to wait for the regular time of his appearance in this cruel and insulting farce. Eighty days had been formally allowed to the venerable prisoner for making his personal defence in the pontifical city. Long before these days had elapsed, Paul sent letters executory to the King and Queen, condemning him, and delivering him over to the secular arm. A subsequent commission,

issued on the 14th of December, authorised certain individuals to degrade him from holy orders[n]. For this purpose the Bishops Boner of London, and Thirlby of Ely, together with some other persons of less distinction, sat in the choir of Christchurch, on the 14th of February. On Cranmer's appearance, the commission was read, reciting in the usual form the equity and impartiality of the papal judicature, and its condemnation of the accused, after ample means allowed to him of prosecuting an appeal, and of making his defence. "My Lord," said the Archbishop, unable to contain his indignation, "what lies be these: that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness, and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." After this interruption the reading proceeded, and the instrument was found to state, that his Holiness, in the plenitude of his power, supplying all manner of defects in law, or in the process, authorised the commissioners to degrade the party without appeal. All the various robes of Romish priests and prelates were now produced, but made of canvas, and other materials yet more worth-

[n] Foxe, 1707. Parker, 511. Cranmer was condemned in a consistory holden at Rome on the 4th of December, and "Paul had by a bull, dated December 11, 1555, collated or provided Pole to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, constituting him administrator of the archbishopric till he should be ordained priest, and after that, appointing him archbishop with full power and jurisdiction." Harmer, 145. Note of Le Courayer upon F. Paul, ii. 28. Note upon Godwin, *de Præsul.* 143.

less, instead of the gay and costly fabrics usually applied to such purposes. In these derisory habiliments the defenceless prisoner being forcibly arrayed, the caricature of a mitre being also placed upon his head, and of a pastoral staff in his hand, Boner's vulgar exultation could no longer be restrained. "This is the man," exclaimed that unfeeling prelate, "who hath ever despised the Pope's Holiness, and is now to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and is now to be judged in a church. This is the man who contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and is now come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man who, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and is now come before an altar to be judged himself." At this point Cranmer thus interrupted the string of invectives which assailed his ears: "You do in this belie me, as in many other things. If that which you now charge upon me were any man's fault, it was your own. You speak of the time when I sat in commission in Paul's church; where was a scaffold erected by you and your officers; but whether or not there was an altar under it, I knew not, nor did I ever once suspect that there was." Unabashed by this rebuke, Boner immediately resumed his unmannerly railing, beginning every sentence by the insulting phrase, "This is the man." Such a display of brutality filled every breast around with pain and disgust. Especially did Bishop Thirlby smart under his coadjutor's gross insensibility to every

thing that renders individuals amiable and society pleasant. He repeatedly pulled Boner by the sleeve, and as they were leaving the church, he reproached him with having broken a promise that he had made, to behave with decent respect towards the Archbishop. Thirlby, indeed, it is to be hoped, would have been deeply pained by the office which he was called upon to discharge, even if it had not been rendered much more intolerable by the coarseness of his brother-commissioner. For he had lived much with Cranmer, had been highly valued by him, and had received from him many of those delicate attentions, and substantial kindnesses by which such a man ever distinguishes those whom he loves. As the first step in the formal degradation, an attempt was made to take from Cranmer's hands the simulated crosier. But the Archbishop held it fast, and refused to deliver it. He then drew from his sleeve a written appeal to the next free general council, assembled in a secure place, and he desired several of the by-standers by name, to witness this act.[o]

[o] Cranmer declares, in a letter secretly written to a lawyer upon the subject of his appeal, that he was induced to think of that measure, partly because Luther, in similar circumstances, had thus appealed, and partly because he desired time to finish his answer to Gardiner's reply to his book upon the Eucharist. The grounds of his appeal are, 1. Because, after his citation to Rome, "he was kept in prison with most strait ward, so that he could in no wise be suffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of prison; and in so grievous causes concerning state and life no man is bound to send a proctor; and though he would never so fain have sent his proctor, yet by reason of poverty he was not

When this paper was handed up to Thirlby, he refused, at first, to receive it, because the commissioners were empowered to proceed without appeal. At last, however, he did receive it, and he then addressed his former friend with great earnestness, and many tears, intreating him to recant, pledging himself to intercede for him at court, and affirming that nothing short of an express command from their Majesties, could ever have induced him to undertake a commission so distressing as the degradation of one who had such large claims upon his gratitude and affection. When Cranmer observed Thirlby's internal struggle, his gentle spirit melted, he kindly assured the agitated prelate, that the proposed degradation was by no means mortifying to him, and he calmly submitted to it as a proof of his perfect unconcern. He did, indeed, just ask when they came to strip off his pretended pall: "Which of

able, all that ever he had, wherewith to bear a proctor's costs and charges, being quite taken from him." 2. Because, being cited to appear before Bp. Brookes, counsel was denied him, although such aid was necessary for his defence in consequence of his own ignorance of law. 3. Because, refusing to admit the power of Bp. Brookes, and answering extra-judicially to the royal proctors alone, he had not received copies of such answers for amendment, if necessary, as it was promised that he should. 4. Because, he could not admit the papal authority over England, as having sworn to the contrary, and inasmuch as that authority is at variance with the English constitution. 5. Because, the papal authority drains England of large sums of money. 6. Because, that authority is not only prejudicial to the English constitution, but is also repugnant to Scripture, and to the decrees of general councils. Foxe, 1708. 1717.

you hath a pall to justify you in taking off this of mine?" He was answered that the commissioners, as being bishops only, were certainly to be considered as his inferiors ordinarily, but being now delegates of the Pope, they were competent to degrade a metropolitan. This insulting imitation of an archiepiscopal ornament was then unconcernedly permitted to go, and the whole ceremony was concluded by a barber, who clipped the Archbishop's hair round his head, and scraped the tops of his fingers, where they had been anointed. He merely said, "All this needed not. I had done with this gear long ago." Being now apparelled in a threadbare gown and cap, such as were worn by people in humble life, Boner was again unable to control his delighted feelings. "Now you are no longer my Lord:" said he to the venerable prisoner. Nor did he cease to speak of him sarcastically as "This gentleman here," so long as the Archbishop remained in his presence. When Cranmer left the scene of insult, sadness was painted upon almost every countenance around; and a gentleman of Gloucestershire, grieved to see him in such miserable attire, managed to procure the gown, of which he had recently been divested, and kindly brought it to him. The feeling stranger also walked by his side in his way back to prison, and endeavoured to make some apology for Thirlby's appearance in the offensive ceremony just concluded. "My Lord of Ely," he remarked, "was very far from insensible either to your present situation, or to his former friendship with you, as his tears and protestations amply

shewed." Cranmer answered: "He might have discovered, though, a great deal more friendship for me, and have been never the worse thought of. I have well deserved it at his hands." On arriving at the prison, his Gloucestershire friend asked the Archbishop whether he would like something to drink. The reply was: "No. I would rather eat. Being troubled with the prospect of this morning's uneasiness, I had little appetite before I left my cell. But it is all over now, and my heart is at ease." Enquiries were then made as to the state of Cranmer's finances, and it appearing that he had not one single penny in his purse, money was immediately supplied to the bailiffs for the relief of his necessities, with a strict injunction, that they should faithfully deliver it to their prisoner. The liberal provider of this seasonable supply was afraid of rendering such assistance directly to the Archbishop, lest he should bring himself into trouble. His precaution, however, proved effective but imperfectly. Towards the close of day he was brought before the Bishops Boner and Thirlby, and reprimanded for affording pecuniary relief to an excommunicated and degraded heretic. Nor, if his connexions had not been of more than ordinary influence and respectability, would he have escaped the inconvenience and agitation of a journey to London, in custody, to answer for his humanity before the council [p].

[p] Foxe, 1709. The martyrologist well remarks concerning the danger to which this kind gentleman of Gloucestershire incurred: "Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment."

The formal degradation of Cranmer was far from satisfying the Popish party. Experience had plainly shewn, that the blazing pyre availed neither to shake the sufferer's constancy, nor to intimidate the people from fondly cherishing an admiration of his principles. It had, on the contrary, hallowed the memory of men pronounced accursed by the ruling ecclesiastics, and every new immolation had strengthened the cause which it was intended to overthrow. No sound observer could, therefore, conceal from himself, that all the insults already heaped upon the Archbishop's head were, in fact, the means of raising his character in the popular estimation, and that if he were led immediately to the death upon which his mental eye had long been fixed, his triumph as a religious leader would be complete. Great exertions, accordingly, were made to evade a result so mortifying to the government. The venerable prisoner was no sooner replaced in his gloomy cell, than his reflections upon recent insults, and his anticipations of approaching tortures were interrupted by an unusual display of interest in his fate. He received visits of civility and condolence from persons of consideration in the University. Dr. Marshall, the Dean of Christchurch, asked him to the deanery, and this insidious invitation being accepted, treated him there with all that grateful hospitality to which he had long been a stranger. Frank, cheerful, and unsuspicious, Cranmer saw in these attentions merely indications of the sympathy and courtesy due from one scholar to another. The verdant lawn stretched beneath his entertainer's

windows, and he was urged to forget awhile the troubles of his latter years over a cheerful game at bowls. He had often thus relaxed his mind in happier times, and he now consented to enjoy again this long intermitted amusement. While his spirits were thus refreshed by the innocent pleasures of society, the conversation was occasionally turned to his peculiar circumstances. Remarks were interposed upon the horrors of that public death which probably awaited him. It was, however, intimated, that the Queen warmly compassionated his case, being anxious either to restore his preferment, or to provide for him in retirement, and that the nobility generally were his friends. But then it was added, "her Majesty will have Cranmer a Catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." These intimations and assurances were strengthened by appeals to the physical weakness of man. The Archbishop was reminded, that his age, though advanced, was far from extreme, that his constitution was not materially impaired, and that he might reasonably calculate upon several years of utility and happiness. In this artful and ungenerous temptation John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish Dominican friar, nominated about this time regius professor of divinity in Oxford[q], sustained a conspicuous part. At length, in an evil hour, Cranmer yielded to these arts, and made, dissemblingly, some concession in favour of the Roman Church[r].

[q] "John Fraterculus, or de Villa Garcia, S. T. B. succeeded in 1556, on the resignation of Smyth." Le Neve, 471.

[r] Foxe, 1710. The following are other ancient accounts of

Precisely to what extent his weakness reached, is a point involved in much obscurity. This unhappy

Cranmer's temptation. " Verum illa literarum consolatoriarum consuetudine cum jam Cranmerus caruisset, *irrepsit ei subdoli cujusdam fratris Hispani, qui Joannes dictus est, ex pontificiorum blanditiis tentatio diabolica;* ut proposita vitæ spe mortisque terrore, ea quæ antea de religione sensisset atque docuisset, scriptis et chirographo retractaret." (Parker, 511.) " Thomas Cranmerus, Henrici Octavi, et Edouardi Sexti fidelissimus consiliarius, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui Pet. Martyri et aliis in defensione approbatæ et receptæ religionis operam suam condixit, qui Oxoniæ hanc ob causam in carcere Bocardico detentus fuit, qui cum hostibus acerrime conflixit, *suasu falsorum fratrum inductus, terrore cruentæ legis adactus, blandis promissis illectus,* post tot ac tantas dimicationes, non utraque sed altera manu, eaque vacillante, articulis quibusdam Papisticis subscripsit." (Joannis Juelli, Angli, Episc. Sarisb. vita et mors. Laur. Humfredo, auctore. Lond. 1573. p. 85.) " Dies aliquot ante (mortem sc.) quum vitæ spes quædam ei facta fuisset, *urgentibus nonnullis,* revocaverat (Cranmerus) pleraque doctrinæ capita, neque constantiam præstitit." (Sleidan, 454.) Camerarius relates, that Cranmer was reported to have been brought from his prison at the martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, in the hope that his constancy would give way under a spectacle so distressing. This experiment having signally failed, he was again, we are told, immured in his cell: " Ubi primum in squalore, *et mox spe quadam bona, et commodis quorundam sermonibus inductus,* traditur aliquantulum vacillasse, et nomen suum subscripsisse, nescio quibus aberrantibus a simplici veritate cœlestis doctrinæ, quam ipse esset professus." (Vit. Phil. Melancthon, 340.) This unanimous testimony of contemporary Protestant authorities has naturally led subsequent writers of that communion to represent Cranmer's fall as consequent upon an artful temptation. Bp. Godwin says, " Per Hispani cujusdam fraterculi *vafritiem et assiduas suasiones* labefacta viri constantia, diuturnioris vitæ cupiditas Cranmero irrepsit." (Annal. 126. Id. de Præsul. 143.) Heylin says the same, but more at length. (Hist. Ref. 225.) Burnet, (Hist. Ref.

passage in his life occasioned disappointment to both the parties which divided England, and, to one of them, grief besides. Hence the particulars of Cranmer's fall have been contemporarily detailed by neither Romanists nor Reformers with that fulness,

ii. 522.) Collier, (Eccl. Hist. ii. 391.) Strype, (Mem. Cranm. 549, and Eccl. Mem. iii. 390.) all ascribe Cranmer's fall to the arts of Romanists about him. Nor, indeed, from the firmness which he is known to have displayed up to this time, is it probable that he would have so suddenly yielded to the assaults of his enemies, unless they had taken more than ordinary pains to undermine his constancy. That Cranmer was thus assaulted, appears farther from the silence of Persons, whose *Three Conversions* was written as an answer to Foxe. Upon that part of the martyrologist's account which relates the Archbishop's temptation, Persons says nothing. (Three Conv. ii. 378.)

Sanders, however, (De Schism. Angl. 246.) makes no mention of the arts used in Cranmer's case; nor does Ribadeneyra, (231.) Dr. Lingard is almost equally reserved upon this subject, abstaining from any allusion to the Archbishop's temptation until he comes to his appearance in St. Mary's, immediately before his martyrdom. In a note (278.) the historian then says: "To extenuate the fall of Cranmer his friends have said, that he was seduced to make these recantations by the artful promises of persons sent from the court for that purpose. But this pretence is refuted by his last speech: he there makes no such apology for himself, but owns that his confessions proceeded from his wish to save his life." Of this extract it is sufficient to remark, that it is a curious specimen of a partizan's readiness to place the same person in different lights, according to the exigencies of the case advocated. Cranmer's own account of the difficulty with which he was persuaded to concur in the disherition of Mary, is introduced to the readers of the new Romish history with an expression of doubt as to his veracity; but no sooner can the Archbishop's testimony be made available for any Popish purpose than it is unhesitatingly admitted.

clearness, and consistency, which a critical enquirer seeks in relations of importance. It seems, however, not altogether improbable, that two papers passed under his pen, capable of receiving a Romish colouring, before his appearance at Christchurch, for the sake of undergoing degradation[s]. If such be

[s] The following are copies of these papers: 1. "Forasmuch as the King's and Queen's Majesties, by consent of their Parliament, have received the Pope's authority within this realm; I am content to submit myself to their laws therein, and to take the Pope for the chief head of this Church of England, *so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.* Thomas Cranmer."

It is evident that the saving clause in this concession reduces it to little or nothing in effect. It must, however, have been subscribed, if it were subscribed at all, with a disingenuous intent; and Cranmer soon after setting his hand to it, we are told, desired to retract it, as if ashamed of his weakness; but it now seems to have been too late to repair the mischief; the paper had gone up to court, being sent thither probably by the persons who had advised, and it may be, even prepared the document. From the seat of government an answer appears to have been returned, pronouncing the concession already received unsatisfactory: for the following more unequivocal paper, it is stated, was next subscribed by the unhappy prisoner.

2. "I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and unto the Pope, supreme head of the same Church, and unto the King's and Queen's Majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

Thomas Cranmer."

This again is evasive, for well-informed persons do not usually confound the Catholic Church with the Roman Church; and as for admitting the Pope's supremacy, an European Protestant might unhesitatingly do it, in one sense, with a safe conscience. If a congress of the western bishops were to assemble, plainly the Bishop of Rome might challenge to himself, as filling the see

the fact, his object, it is likely, was to render these affected symptoms of a wavering opinion subsidiary to his plan of gaining time by means of that appeal to a general council, upon which he had resolved. Another paper, evasive, like its precursors, but more comprehensive, inasmuch as it pledges the subscriber to exert himself in rendering

anciently most important, the first place in such an august body. We are told, that this paper was not retracted. Both it and the foregoing one are undated; but it might seem, from the date of the fourth paper, that they must have been prepared before Boner and Thirlby came to Oxford. It is, however, very extraordinary if such papers really were known to have been signed by Cranmer, that Boner should have treated him as he did at Christchurch, and that no remark should have been made by Thirlby, at all events, upon the prisoner's known disposition to relent. Nor, again, do these indications of wavering opinion, slight and evasive as they are, at all agree with the firm and uncompromising character of Cranmer's appeal before his judges to a general council. Such very suspicious circumstances can hardly fail of engendering doubt as to whether the Archbishop ever consented at all to these two papers. The truth may be, that they were proposed to him by some insidious adviser, and that the unhappy desire, which now possessed him, of lengthening his life, had prompted him to go so far as to abstain from expressing a positive disapproval of them. If they had been truly sanctioned by him, they would hardly have been published within a few weeks, by authority, without even the authentication of a date. That they might have been transmitted to London, and noticed by the council, even in that imperfect state, is nowise improbable. The persons who laboured to shake Cranmer's resolution would be eager to blazon the first dawning of hope as to their ultimate success to the principal depositaries of ecclesiastical patronage: and Mary's government was so essentially popish, that it was keenly alive to every movement likely to overcome the prevailing English abhorrence of Rome.

recent ecclesiastical arrangements palatable to the country [t], was exhibited, we are told, to the Bishops Boner and Thirlby, during their stay in Oxford. This, however, might seem to have been deemed unsatisfactory by the two prelates, and accordingly, it is asserted, Bishop Boner drew up a fourth form, which Cranmer subscribed on the 16th of February [u]. Thus, for the first time we meet with a date,

[t] 3. "I am content to submit myself to the King's and Queen's Majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the Pope's supremacy, as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all others to do the like to the uttermost of my power; and to live in quietness and obedience unto their Majesties most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am content to submit me to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and of the next general council,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

[u] 4. "Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, and late Archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, steadfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath ever believed from the Beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments of the Church, I believe unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic Church doth, and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof, I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvi[th] day of February, MDLV.

"THOMAS CRANMER."

Of all the papers ascribed to Cranmer, during the unhappy period of his dissimulation, this is the one bearing about it the most satisfactory marks of genuineness. It is, however, no recantation; although, among the more uninformed, it might pass for one. It is, in fact, merely a declaration of the subscriber's

and we also find it affixed to a piece which any Protestant, unless under circumstances likely to place his conduct in a disingenuous point of view, might unhesitatingly sign. But this fourth concession was likely to serve the ends of those in power much less completely, than any one of the three which, it is believed, had preceded it. If these three, therefore, had really been signed by the Archbishop, the fourth was worse than useless, and that Boner should have drawn it up, under such circumstances, is very far from credible. Hence it may be not unreasonably conjectured, that the two prelates being informed of Cranmer's apparent disposition to make some concessions, and of his insurmountable objections to the papers hitherto offered for his signature; Boner undertook to prepare a form equivocally worded, which he would be likely not to refuse. Ignorant persons would be easily brought to look upon such a document as a recantation; and moreover, a decided breach in the prisoner's integrity having been thus effected, an advantage would be given to emissaries employed in tampering with him. Nevertheless he seems to have remained tolerably firm against his insidious assailants, and accordingly, on the 24th of February, a writ was issued directing the municipal authorities of Oxford

willingness to be guided by antiquity in his religious belief. All Protestants profess to be so guided, and appealing to antiquity for the truth of their own opinions, pronounce that Popery is made up of innovations gradually and surreptitiously introduced into the Catholic Church.

to burn him as an heresiarch, a man accursed, and a manifest heretic [x]. Intelligence of this decisive step had no sooner, as it seems, arrived in Oxford, than it operated violently upon the Archbishop's physical infirmity, and inclined him to receive with apparent complacency a recantation prepared for his signature by some of the scholars who plied him incessantly with their importunities. This paper is an unequivocal assent to Popery, and is therefore, such an instrument as no Protestant could sign without either abandoning that name, or incurring the guilt of undisguised falsehood [y]. That Cranmer thus lost

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 413.

[y] 5. "I, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true doctrines. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and Catholic Church, visible, without the which there is no salvation, and thereof I acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread, through the mighty power of God, being turned into the body of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments, like as in this, I believe and hold as the universal Church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the

himself is very far from clear. Foxe, indeed, introduces this recantation as having been subscribed

Church doth godly and wholesomely pray; like as it doth honour saints, and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe than the Catholic Church and the Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me whatsoever I have offended against God, or his Church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the Church, that we may be all of one mind without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour, or fear of any person, but willingly, and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

The original of this recantation is in Latin, and the translation above is transcribed from Foxe. (1710.) The martyrologist has not inserted, or indeed mentioned the preceding four papers. They are taken from Strype, (Eccl. Mem. iii. 392,) who transferred them from a very scarce tract, published immediately after Cranmer's death, with this title; *All the Submyssyons and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archebyshop of Canterburye, truly set forth both in Latyn and Englysh, agreeable to the originales, wrytten and subscribed with his own hands. Visum et examinatum per Reverendum Patrem et Dominum, Edmundum Episcopum. London.* Todd's Historical and Critical Introd. cviii.

by the Archbishop. But he has not subjoined his name at the end of it, nor is the paper authenticated by a date. He says, moreover, that the signature, "THOMAS CRANMER," was *added* by those who published this record of his humiliation [a]. Another cause for doubting that Cranmer signed this recantation, is drawn from the subscribing witnesses, De Villa Garcia and Henry Sydal; the former a Spanish friar, the latter an obscure member of the university, now a violent friend to Popery, but subsequently, under Queen Elizabeth, a conformist to a different creed [b]. It was evidently proper that the Dean of Christchurch, or some other individual of a similar condition should formally witness the signing of an instrument so important. It is also worthy of remark, that this recantation being printed as the Archbishop's, immediately after the time assigned to his signature of it, was hastily suppressed by an order of the privy council, dated on the 13th

[a] The martyrologist thus prefaces the document: "The form of which recantation, made by friars and doctors, whereto he subscribed was this." The piece then follows. At its close, we are told: "This recantation of the Archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates, without delay, caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands. *Whereunto for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal, and Friar John de Villa Garcina.*" (1710.) An acute author who could insert these two sentences in the same page must surely have had his reasons for doubting whether the subscription referred to was ever truly made.

[b] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 394.

of March[b]. These very suspicious circumstances naturally encourage an opinion that Cranmer never

[b] "On the 13th of March, the privy council were concerned when they heard his paper of recantation was printed. Rydall and Copeland, two printers, were required to deliver to Cawood, the Queen's printer, the books of his recantation to be burned by him." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. 365.) By another entry in the council-book, it appears that the two printers entered into a recognisance, to obey this order, on the 16th of March. (Todd's Hist. and Crit. Intr. cvii.) The following are Dr. Lingard's modes of accounting for these orders: "Perhaps it was incorrectly printed: perhaps they waited for that which he said, God would inspire him to make." (Hist. Engl. vii. 276, note.) "It was (the tract, namely, published after Cranmer's death, with Boner's name in the front of it, entitled *All the Submyssyons*, &c.) printed by Cawood, *cum privilegio;* that is with a patent securing to him the copy-right. Now it appears to me, that this single circumstance will furnish a more probable explanation of the two entries in the council-book of the 13th and 16th of March, than has yet been given. The first is an order that Rydall and Copeland should give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to be burnt: the second, a recognisance by the same printers that they will deliver to Mr. Cawood all such books as they of late printed, concerning Cranmer's recantation, to be by the said Cawood burnt. By the dates, it appears that these orders refer to the recantation of doctrinal errors made on the 25th of February." (No. 5. The ground for assigning this date to that paper does not appear: but it probably was under Cranmer's consideration at that time.) "But at that time, as appears from the letter of the French ambassador, he was expected to make another recantation of erroneous conduct; and this he accordingly did make, on the 18th of March. Hence as the book of Rydall and Copeland was evidently imperfect, we may conclude that it was published without licence, which would subject it to seizure; and as it was, moreover, an infringement of Cawood's copy-right, the reason appears why the books were delivered to Cawood himself to be destroyed." (Vindic. of Cer-

did really subscribe this recantation. The two witnesses, probably, merely saw him copy it, and they might also hear him profess a readiness to bestow upon it his unprejudiced attention. So complete, moreover, is this disavowal of his lately-cherished faith, that there seems no reason why his adversaries should have required any farther concession of him, if this had truly received his subscription. He was, however, importuned to sign another paper, bearing strong internal evidence of coming from the tedious and unfeeling pen of Cardinal Pole [c]. In this, how-

tain Passages, &c. 96.) Now there is no ground for pronouncing this publication imperfect. It was "set abroad by the doctors and prelates," we are told by Foxe. Hence it was no doubt as perfect as the case admitted, and for the same reason it was probably licensed. As for its imperfection upon the ground of its wanting something not then in existence, the notion is plainly untenable. Nor again, is there any appearance of an infringement of Cawood's copy-right by means of this publication. Two of the recantations, afterwards printed by Cawood, were not then in existence. He could, therefore, have no copy-right in them; since no man had engaged to write them for his profit. It seems, therefore, reasonable to believe, that this recantation was promptly suppressed, because it was published as a piece formally signed by Cranmer, a character which did not belong to it, and which, being thus assigned to it, would be likely to draw down a disavowal from the prisoner, or his friends, to the utter destruction of the hopes, not unreasonably formed, that he would eventually be intimidated and cajoled into a complete renunciation of his principles.

[c] Strype (Eccl. Mem. iii. 395.) says that this sixth paper, "by the tedious prolixity and style of it, seems to me to be drawn up by Cardinal Pole, as he drew up such another for Sir John Cheke." Another reason for believing this piece to have been of the Cardinal's composition is the identity of the ideas, and even of the

ever, is no formal retractation of doctrinal opinions. It is, in fact, an inflated string of self-accusations. The harassed individual, for whose subscription it is intended, is made to say, that he had grievously sinned against heaven, England, and the Church; that he had been a more cruel persecutor than Paul, a blasphemer, and contumelious; that he had exceeded Saul in malice and wickedness; that reflection upon the penitent thief's case was the chief comfort to his mind; that he was worthy not only of human and temporal, but also of divine and eternal punishment: that he had exceedingly offended against King Henry, more still against Queen Catharine, in being the cause and author of the divorce, the fountain of innumerable ills; and that he was exceedingly tormented by the recollection of his blasphemies and exertions against a belief in the real presence. As a disavowal of Protestant sentiments, this paper is far less important than its immediate predecessor. In this, it resembles the fourth concession, and it is therefore probable that the circumstances under which it was drawn up were similar. Now Boner is the acknowledged author of the former piece, and as there seems to be no cause why he should thus have retrograded in his expectations of the Archbishop's constancy, unless inferior agents had hitherto been foiled; so it is reasonable to imagine, that Pole, who has taken care to mark

language with those which we read in his epistle to Cranmer, before cited, of which the Latin original is among the Harleian MSS. and a French translation in Le Grand, and Pole's epistles.

the sixth submission for his own, abstained from doctrinal particulars, because it had been found impossible to wring from the unhappy prisoner an explicit assent to the complete recantation by which he had been recently assailed. The Cardinal tendered, therefore, to his victim such a general admission of weakness and iniquity, as a pious and sensible man, oppressed with a conviction that if he lived, it must be under great humiliation, and expecting rather to appear shortly before the awful tribunal of God, would be likely to sign. To this paper, as to all the former ones, Cranmer's signature is appended, and it moreover offers the authentication of a date [d], but it wants that of witnesses. This omission is important, and besides, Foxe has taken no notice of the piece, which is a plain proof either that he considered Cranmer's assent to it doubtful, at best, or that he viewed it as no recantation. That, indeed, the Archbishop's insidious advisers were still dissatisfied with the success of their importunities is plain from the fact, that notwithstanding the six submissions attributed to him, one of them too being a full disavowal of the tenets which he had so long and laboriously maintained, he was urgently solicited to sign another paper. These unremitting exertions on the part of his tempters cast a very strong shade of suspicion upon their claims to success; to say nothing of collateral difficulties affecting their testimony. The known facts bear greatly the appearance of a substantial failure in the solicitations which

[d] March 18. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 397.

harassed the last days of Cranmer, and which have tended to tarnish the lustre of his reputation. Undeniably the stake, the chain, and the devouring blaze, hourly haunting his imagination, impelled him to feed the hopes of those around him, that an unambiguous disavowal of his declared opinions would eventually attest the skill of their artifices; but that he so far degraded himself as to sign a formal recantation, is hardly to be credited without more satisfactory evidence; especially since there are many known circumstances which render it improbable that he thus completely forfeited his integrity.

At length, the government appears to have become convinced, that although the fallen prelate might dissemble for an indefinite period, in the hope of protracting life, an unequivocal assent to Romish doctrines was not to be expected from him[e]. Orders

This is not only agreeable to probability, but plainly the purport of the statements furnished by Sanders and Ribadeneyra. The former of these authors, it may be observed by the way, informs us, as an embellishment to his narrative, that Cranmer signed seventeen recantations. "Deinde spe vitæ Catholicum se fingens, ac septies et decies se palinodiam canere proprio chirographo attestatus; *demum in illa hypocrisi deprehensus*, ab episcopis Catholicis de gradu omni dejectus ecclesiastico, et brachio sæculari traditus, Oxonii postea comburitur impœnitens." (De Schism. Angl. 246.) "Porque aunque con la esperança del perdon y de la vida, al principio se fingio Catolico y penitente, *y firmò de su propria mano, que estava presto y aparejado para abjurar las heregias una y muchas vezes, pero no le valio, porque fue descubierto su fingimiento e hypocresia.*" (Ribad. 231.) Thus we are informed by the original Romish historian of the English Reformation, that Cranmer was burnt, "*having at length*

for burning him, accordingly, were issued; but a hope, yet lingering among the papal party, that the desired recantation might eventually crown their endeavours with success, caused them to keep him in ignorance of his approaching fate. Dr. Henry Cole, Provost of Eton, was appointed to preach at his death, and he visited him on the day preceding it; but he did not mention what awaited him on the morrow. He asked, "Have you continued in the Catholic faith, wherein I left you?" Cranmer answered; "By God's grace, I shall be daily more confirmed in the Catholic faith:" an evasive reply, such, indeed, as might have been expected from the Archbishop under his existing circumstances, but certainly not sufficiently explicit for the satisfaction of his interrogator. On the following morning, it being Saturday, the 21st of March, Cole visited the prisoner again, and enquired of him whether he had

been detected in the hypocrisy which he had adopted in the hope of life." Now this detection, according to the tract published under Boner's sanction immediately after the event, never took place until the martyr was actually in St. Mary's church, in his way to the pyre. Up to that very time, we are informed, he had continued to sign recantation after recantation, and it was now expected that he would publicly deliver another production of this kind. Ribadeneyra, however, is yet more fatal to the credit of Boner's publication than Sanders. Cranmer "signed with his own hand *that he was ready and prepared to abjure his heresies, several times, but it did not avail him, because his feigning and hypocrisy were discovered.*" Here it is not asserted that the Archbishop ever abjured, only that he repeatedly expressed himself, in writing, *ready to do so*, and it being discovered that he was dealing disingenuously, he was committed to the flames.

any money? A negative answer being returned, fifteen crowns were given to him. The provost also exhorted him to constancy in the faith, and he, probably, acquainted him that a public profession of his opinions was about to be required from his lips. These indications of some concealed purpose opened Cranmer's eyes, and he began to suspect that his unhappy tergiversation would no longer avail to save him from the stake. He had yielded, however, so much to the physical recoil of his own feelings, and to the temptations of his enemies, that he could not at once, a ray of hope still seeming to glimmer, completely strip off his assumed willingness to consider principles which laborious and dispassionate enquiry had taught him to despise and abhor. De Villa Garcia besought him earnestly to transcribe and sign another submission, or recantation, which was prepared for his public delivery. Cranmer, seemingly assenting, transcribed a copy of this paper for his own use; and afterwards another, by particular desire, which he gave into the Spaniard's hands. He declined, however, so far to gratify his insidious visitor as to sign these papers[f]. The doctrinal portion of this new writing, was an acknowledgement of his belief in the articles of the Christian faith, as contained in the Scriptures, and as expounded by the principal councils; an expression of

[f] This appears from the fact, that in the published account of Cranmer's *Submyssions*, &c. authenticated by Boner, the seventh does not bear his signature. Reply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication, by the Rev. H. J. Todd, M.A. London, 1827, p. 125.

his grief on account of his having published erroneous doctrine in books, especially as to the sacrament of the altar; a renunciation of the doctrines inculcated in such books, together with a warning against them, and a brief assertion of the corporal presence [g]. This piece, as a recantation, is, therefore, much less full and explicit, than the fifth paper that passed under his pen; which is an additional reason for doubting the genuineness of his signature to that paper. He had also committed to writing, probably at some former opportunity, a prayer, and a practical exhortation. These he now contrived to secrete in his bosom, being possessed by a strong suspicion, that he was upon the point of going forth to die [h].

[g] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 398.

[h] "The Archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation, written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing, lest if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have suffered him to exhort the people." (Foxe, 1711.) From this passage it must be collected, that Cranmer had no certain information of his death when he was importuned to write the seventh submission. If such information had been given to him, there is, indeed, no reason to believe that he would have gratified his visitors by undertaking this transcription. The prayer and exhortation he had, probably, provided before, in expectation of the scene upon which he was now immediately to appear, and he secreted them at this time in his bosom, because he suspected that the moment for using them was hourly to be expected.

Between nine and ten o'clock, the Lord Williams, with other individuals of fortune, seated in the county, having arrived in Oxford for the purpose of presiding at the mournful ceremony in preparation, Cranmer was removed from Bocardo. The weather proved extremely rainy; but notwithstanding, a very large and anxious crowd was assembled. The Romanists flattered themselves that this interesting day would not only attest the fearfulness of their revenge, but also the profound skill of their artifices, or it might be, the seductive nature of their principles. The grieved Protestants, on the contrary, encouraged expectations that their venerated leader would nobly redeem his fame, when he found his eager hopes of lengthened life abruptly frustrated[i]. The pyre was raised upon the spot already consecrated by the martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley, but the morning was such as forbade any needless exposure to the elements, and accordingly, arrangements were made for preaching the customary sermon in St. Mary's church. Thither the martyr was conducted between

[i] Foxe, 1711. This general prevalence of anxious expectation is an additional reason for disbelieving the statement as to Cranmer's recantation. If he had been known, with a reasonable degree of certainty, to have signed the paper (No. 5.) there could have been little speculation as to the faith which he was likely to profess at last. Since we are no where informed, that he retracted this recantation until he was actually in St. Mary's church. The sudden suppression of this paper must, however, have engendered a general suspicion that his assent to it was not capable of proof; and it is probable that the rumours afloat tended but little to allay such a suspicion among people of discernment.

two friars, who mumbled responsively certain psalms, as they walked along the streets. On reaching the church-door, they began the hymn of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*[k], and the Archbishop was then led to a raised platform facing the pulpit, which he had no sooner ascended, than his appearance excited universal commiseration. His apparel was of the meanest description, but a long white beard rendered his aspect highly venerable, and on his countenance was plainly marked an expression of the deepest sorrow. Having fallen upon his knees, he continued for some time absorbed in mental prayer, a copious flood of tears all the while pouring down his cheeks. His emotion proved infectious; eyes on every side, which rested one minute upon his dejected figure, being in the next turned away to weep[l]. In the sermon Cole assigned several reasons why, in the present instance, a heretic who had repented, should, notwithstanding, expiate his offence at the stake. The prisoner, he said, was the chief cause of recent alterations in religion; he had irregularly divorced King Henry from Queen Catharine,

[k] "Lord lettest thou thy servant," &c. St. Luke, ii. 29.

[l] The Romanist, from whose letter nearly all the particulars of Cranmer's martyrdom are taken, ascribes the tears of the congregation to the interest felt in the Archbishop on account of his supposed relapse into Popery. "And when he had ascended it (the platform) he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly; which moved a great number to tears, *that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.*" (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 552.) This is not the language of an intelligent Romish observer, who had entered the church under a full conviction that Cranmer had really signed the recantation, No. 5.

not however of malice undoubtedly, but under the advice of various learned men; he had written, disputed, and, in fine, exerted himself in every way to favour heresy, and "had continued in it even to the last hour[m]." No heretic, the preacher asserted, having so long maintained his errors, had ever been pardoned in England, unless in the time of schism. It was besides, the congregation was told, necessary to use severity in this case, for the sake of example; and it was added, "there are other reasons which have moved the Queen and council to order the execution of the individual present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding[n]." After some practical reflections addressed to

[m] This is a vague and cautious assertion, which looks very much like an intimation on the preacher's part, that Cranmer had evaded the attempts made to draw him into a recantation, rather than that he could be proved to have committed himself decidedly by their means.

[n] It seems hardly doubtful, that these "other reasons" were the fact that Cranmer had dissembled, but never recanted. Hence Cole was obviously bound, for the sake of his own credit, to introduce some such saving clause in his sermon; because it was intended to call upon the Archbishop for an address, and it could not be known, whether, if a sweeping falsehood had been uttered, it would not have elicited an unequivocal contradiction. By admitting, however, that there were circumstances in Cranmer's case not fit for the public ear, the martyr was relieved from the necessity of entering into a detailed account of the transactions which had lately undermined his peace. For his friends would be likely to build upon Cole's intimation an assured belief that his alleged recantation, which had been so hastily suppressed, was undoubtedly spurious; and accordingly, that their leader, though infatuated by the awakened love of life to the ex-

the hearers, and bearing upon the case before them, the preacher exhorted Cranmer himself. He pressed upon his attention several texts of Scripture suitable for inspiring him with patience under his approaching death; he cited the case of the penitent thief in the Gospel, as an encouragement to him in believing that he should that day be with Christ in paradise; he reminded him that the three faithful Jews, consigned to the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, suffered not by the fury of the flames; he then made a shew of strengthening this consolation by relating, from legendary lore, the patience of St. Andrew upon the cross, and of St. Laurence upon the gridiron. Finally, he glorified God in his conversion, assuring the people that great pains had long been taken ineffectually for that purpose, and that there appeared no hopes of success, until at last a merciful Deity reclaimed the sinner. Many flattering observations were then applied to Cranmer, the severity with which his acts had been described in a former portion of the sermon was greatly softened down, and he was assured that, after his death, masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. An

tent of ceasing to defend the truth, had never formally abjured it. On the other hand, it might be hoped, that the Archbishop, being satisfied with discovering a loop-hole through which some part of his credit might be saved, would gratify the party, which had lately beset him, so far as to deliver the mitigated recantation prepared for this occasion: especially since it was hoped that he was taken completely by surprise, and therefore would probably find himself unable, in the hurry and agitation of the moment, to vindicate his principles and conduct in a manner satisfactory to himself and his friends.

address was even directly made to the priests present, charging them thus to assist, during its detention in purgatory, the spirit now about to leave the world.

The sermon being concluded, Cole intreated his hearers to pray for the prisoner. Immediately the whole congregation obeyed the call, and never did a large assembly exhibit more evident marks of earnest devotion. Some individuals, probably, supplicated the Father of mercies from a generous compassion for the sufferer before them; but party-feelings lent fervency to the prayers of the congregation generally. The Romanist and Reformer equally claimed the victim as his own; both, accordingly, felt deeply interested in the mitigation of his sufferings, and each of them clung to the hope that he would leave the world with a full avowal of adherence to his own peculiar creed[o]. During the whole sermon Cranmer's

[o] "They that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." (Letter from a Romanist, at Oxford. Strype, *ut supra*.) This prevalence of hope and fear among the congregation is an additional reason for doubting the common accounts of Cranmer's recantation. The people at St. Mary's could surely never have thought upon this subject as posterity has been led to believe. Again, Cole's encomiums upon Cranmer, and his care to qualify, before he concluded, some of the severe observations inserted in the beginning of his discourse, look very much like a desire, on his part, to cajole the Archbishop into a concession of which he had good reason to despair. The Provost, we are told by a grave contemporary who had very good opportunities of knowing the truth, was a man very little likely to do kind things, unless he

grief appeared to have undergone no abatement: at times he raised his eyes to heaven, at others he fixed them on the ground, but they were constantly suffused with tears. His demeanor generally, however, was quiet and grave. When Cole desired the congregation to pray for him, he too knelt, and remained for some time engaged in secret prayer. He then arose, and having obtained leave to speak, he thus began his eagerly-expected address.

"Good people, I had intended myself to desire your prayers, but because master doctor hath already done so, and you have yielded to his request, I have now only to thank you most heartily for the same. I will, however, pray for myself in the best manner that I could devise for mine own comfort, repeating the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. —O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both; three persons, and one God, have mercy upon me, a most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner, I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express; whither may I go, or whither should I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that run unto thee for succour. To thee, therefore, do I run. To thee do

had some particular object in them. "Johannes Colus, vir non modo Pontificia pravitate, sed in omni vitæ actione, perversus ac difficilis." Parker, 511.

I humble myself; saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have pity upon me, for thy great mercy's sake. O God, the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought for few or small offences. Nor didst thou give thy Son unto death, O God, the Father, for our small iniquities only, but also for all the greatest sins committed in the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart; as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but only for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby: and for the sake of thy dear Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ." This affecting address to the never-failing source of mercy and consolation was read by the martyr standing. Having concluded it, he knelt, and repeated the Lord's Prayer. His example was simultaneously followed by the congregation: every knee was bent upon the pavement, every [illegible] poured heaven-ward that admirable form by which Jesus taught his disciples how to pray. The voice of supplication being hushed, Cranmer rose, and thus unburthened his labouring mind to the throng of anxious listeners: "Every man, good people, at the time of his death is desirous of giving some good exhortation, that others may remember it after he is gone, and be the better thereby. So I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified. I shall first call your minds to the manner

in which so many people are infatuated by the love of this false world. Oh, it is a heavy thing to see men so careful for the things of this perishable state, that the love of God, or the love of the world to come, seems to find no place among their thoughts. My first exhortation therefore to you is, that you set not overmuch by this false glosing world; but fix your minds upon God and the world to come; learning to know what truly meaneth this lesson taught us by St. John, *that the love of this world is hatred against God.* My second exhortation is, that next unto God you obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly without murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God: knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by Him to rule and govern you. And therefore whosoever resisteth them resisteth the ordinance of God. My third exhortation is, that ye love one another like brethren and sistern. For alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another; not taking each other as sisters and brothers, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn, and bear well away this one lesson. To do good to all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, any more than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother or sister. For of this you may be sure, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, assuredly, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour. My fourth exhortation shall be to them

who have great riches and substance in this world, that they well weigh these sayings of Scripture, one of them from our Saviour Christ himself, *It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven;* a sore saying, but spoken by Him who knew the truth: the other from St. John, *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say, he loveth God?* Much more might I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them that be rich ponder well these sentences: for if ever they had any occasion to shew their charity, they have now at this present, the poor being so many, and victuals so dear. For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider, that what is given to the poor, is given unto God: whom we have not otherwise corporally present with us, but in the poor.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life whereupon hangeth all my life past, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ, in heaven, in joy; or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils, in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall, therefore, declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past. First, I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. and in every article

of the Catholic faith, in every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and New Testaments. And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I did or said in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here I now renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth, which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be. I mean all such bills as I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue[p]. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore, my hand shall first be punished: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

These words were no sooner uttered, than murmurs arose on every side. The martyr was reminded of his recantation, and reproached as a dissembler. In these upbraidings, Lord Williams having taken a part, Cranmer thus addressed him: "Alas! my Lord, I have been a man that all my life loved

[p] It is worthy of remark, that Cranmer speaks of these papers as having passed under his pen "since his degradation," a clause which throws an additional difficulty over the first two or three of them. He speaks of them also as "written *or* signed:" words intimating, it might seem, that he did not affix his signature to all of them, although he might have carried his dissimulation so far as to transcribe them.

plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth. I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise. I say, therefore, that I believe concerning the Sacrament, as I have taught in my book against the late Bishop of Winchester." The martyr was not allowed to proceed intelligibly farther, noise and agitation prevailing throughout the church. At length Lord Williams, raising his voice, exhorted him to remember himself, and play the Christian man. "I do so," was the reply, "for now I speak the truth." To protract this scene would evidently add to the mortification of the Romish party. Cranmer was, accordingly, removed in haste from the platform, and led to the fatal pile. In his way thither he was assailed unceasingly by the taunts and importunities of various zealots, especially of De Villa Garcia; but nothing now sufficed to disturb his equanimity. He had undergone the merited humiliation of avowing the disgraceful artifices extorted from his awakened love of life, and he had obliterated the evils of his unhappy dissimulation by a public profession of his real sentiments. Hence he felt not only composed, but also happy. The settled grief, which marked his countenance in St. Mary's church, wholly disappeared when he reached the stake. His interesting features there were those of one who has accomplished an arduous probation, and now feels himself upon the point of attaining a splendid inheritance. He looked cheerfully and benignly all around, kindly shook several persons by the hand, and put off his garments with

alacrity. When divested of his outward clothing, the shirt was observed to reach his feet, now bare, and the removal of his cap exhibited a head completely bald. But his long white beard flowing majestically downwards, lent to his whole figure an air indescribably venerable[q]. Fire being added to the pile, his eye no sooner caught the mounting flame, than he stretched his right hand over it, loudly saying, "This hand hath offended." Nor, unless once for a moment, when he used that hand to wipe his face, did he withdraw it from the fire; no small exertion of self-command, inasmuch as it was evidently burning, while other parts of his frame were comparatively uninjured. His left hand was immoveably directed upwards, as if pointing to a celestial home. Cranmer's firmness, indeed, in his mortal agony, was fully worthy of his exalted character. His eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, and then he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." At other times he turned them towards his fast-consuming hand, exclaiming, "Oh, this unworthy hand." But his body generally was motionless, not swerving once from its position, and appearing no more sensible of pain than the stake to which it was attached. Happily his sufferings were of no long

[q] The venerable aspect of Cranmer appears to have been remembered among his enemies. Of course they accompanied the mention of it by some gratuitous calumnies. Thus the Jesuit Campian describes him, "Thomas Cranmerus, *aspectu venerabilis*, cætera levissimus, et corruptissimus regiæ libidinis et [illegible]luntatis assecla." Narrat. Divort. Henr. VIII. Antv. 1631, p. 179.

continuance, a furious fire soon arising, and setting his invigorated spirit free [r]. On disturbing the ashes of the pyre, his heart was found among them uninjured [s]: a statement hardly worth recording, did not every particular of such a man as Cranmer interest his grateful countrymen, and had not some of the more superstitious among his admiring contemporaries inferred from this fact, that Providence meant thereby to testify the inflexible constancy of his heart, amidst the recent aberrations of his lips and hand [t].

[r] Letter of a Romanist from Oxford, signed J. A. and dated March 23. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 559. Foxe, 1714.

[s] Parker, 512. Godwin, Annal. 127. de Præsul. 144. The Archbishop very truly observes, that if this had happened in the case of any Romish martyr, it would undoubtedly have been proclaimed as a miracle, and the sufferer's pretensions to saintship would have been deemed incontestable.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 226. Before the mention of Cranmer is dismissed from these pages, it may be worth while to answer some questions which Mr. Butler has asked, (Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, 219.) concerning the Archbishop. Q. "Although he adopted the Lutheran principles so early as his residence in Germany, on the business of the divorce, yet he continued, during the fifteen subsequent years of Henry's reign, in the most public profession of the Catholic religion, the article of the supremacy of the Pope alone excepted: was this justifiable before God or man?" A. Cranmer never adopted Lutheran principles completely, for he never assented to the doctrine of consubstantiation. In other respects, he laboured unremittingly, and with very considerable success, to bring about a religious conformity between England and Saxony, during the fifteen years alluded to. He professed the Catholic religion at every period of his life, merely turning his back upon Popery. Q. "Although, when he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, he took the custo[illegible]

On the very day of Cranmer's martyrdom, Pole, having recently taken priest's orders, said his first

oath of obedience to the see of Rome, did he not, just before he took it, retire into a private room and protest against it? Was this honourable?" A. Cranmer's protest against the oath in question was public. It was most honourable in him to make such a protest, because the oath is capable of two different interpretations. He protested that he never would interpret it in any manner at variance with his duties as a Christian and an Englishman. Let Romanists come forward and say that his protest is inconsistent with his oath; if they dare. Q. "Although he subscribed, and caused his clergy to subscribe the Six Articles, the third and fourth of which enjoin celibacy to the clergy, and the observance of the vow of chastity, was he not married, and did he not continue to cohabit with his wife: was not this dissimulation?" A. Cranmer never subscribed the Six Articles, nor did his clergy, nor any other man, or body of men. He spiritedly opposed that tyrannical statute, and never ceased to express his disapprobation of it. When it passed he was undoubtedly married, using the liberty allowed to him by the laws of God and of his country; but he ceased immediately to cohabit with his wife, sending her away to Germany. Q. "Although he knew Anne Boleyn was under no pre-contract of marriage, did he not, to use Bishop Burnet's expression, extort from her, standing as she then did, on the very verge of eternity, a confession of the existence of such contract. Was not this culpable subserviency to his master's cruelties? Was it not prevailing on the unhappy woman to die with a lie upon her lips?" A. The precise ground upon which Cranmer pronounced Anne Boleyn's marriage null is unknown. It was, however, something admitted by herself. Hence the judge had no discretion in the case. That he extorted this admission from her there is neither evidence nor probability. Q. "Was he not instrumental in bringing Lambert, Anne Askew, Joan Bocher, Van Parr, and others, both Catholics and Anabaptists, to the stake?" A. As a judge, he necessarily condemned Joan Bocher and Van Parr. His instrumentality in

mass in the church of the Franciscan Observants, at Greenwich: those friars having been lately restored

the other cases named and unnamed, awaits the researches of some person desirous of charging it upon him. Authentic accounts, hitherto before the public, acquit him of any such instrumentality in the cases of Lambert and Askew. Q. "Did he not make too successful exertions to induce the infant Edward to sign the sentence for Joan Bocher's condemnation?" A. There is no sufficient evidence that he ever made any such exertions, and the silence of Edward's journal renders it improbable that he did so. Q. "Was he not in all these instances guilty both of the theory and the practice of religious persecution?" A. Two of the instances named have no bearing upon the question. In the other two, it cannot be proved that he acted in any degree otherwise than judicially. Q. "Did he not previously to Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, declare, that the negociations for her marriage with a prince of the house of Lorraine, were not a lawful impediment to her marriage with Henry? Yet, did he not, within six months after the marriage, declare that they had created such an impediment? Was not this a deliberate and solemn untruth? Did he not then solemnise the monarch's adulterous marriage with Lady Catharine Howard? Was not this a sacrilege?" A. Cranmer, in conjunction with Tunstall, argued in the privy council, against the Lorraine pre-contract as a ground for invalidating a marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves. The Archbishop afterwards also, assented, in a committee, to a proposal for annulling that marriage; the other episcopal members of such committee being Boner, Tunstall, Gardiner, and Bell; all prelates attached to the Romish party. The Lorraine pre-contract was alleged among the causes for annulling the marriage in question; but there were also other causes alleged, and there can be little doubt that the averment upon which the committee most rested, was the physical impossibility of consummating the marriage which was reported, upon evidence, to exist. The whole affair was a party-artifice, purely Romish, and Cranmer's concurrence in it was probably given under legal advice, to

to their old quarters in that place [u]. On the following day, the Cardinal was consecrated, in the same church, to the archbishopric of Canterbury: Heath, Boner, Thirlby, Pates, White, Griffith, and Goldwell, being the officiating prelates [x]. Three days

which, from his professed ignorance of law, he was accustomed to defer implicitly, during the agitation of all legal questions. That he married Henry to Catharine Howard is utterly improbable. That marriage appears to have been solemnised secretly, and Cranmer was not at all likely to have been thought of as the officiating minister. Q. "And finally, notwithstanding the undoubted rights of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the throne, did he not, on the death of their royal brother, strive to exclude them from it, and to place Lady Jane Grey upon it? Was not this both ingratitude and high treason?" A. Cranmer was informed by the highest legal authorities, that the two Princesses were incapable of the throne, as being illegitimate. He notwithstanding, stoutly resisted the attempt to exclude them from it, because they possessed statutable and testamentary claims to it. He did not, indeed, like so many of Mary's Romish friends, first conspire to deprive her of the throne, and then, within a few days, conspire to place her upon it. Having been overcome by legal arguments, and the dying King's earnest persuasions, he honestly prepared to fulfil his engagements; but he transferred his allegiance to Mary upon the first occasion which allowed him to do so with honour, and it is stated, *that he refused to follow certain Romanists in swearing allegiance to Jane.* "Nay, he refused to swear to the Lady Jane, as Queen, though divers Papists before him had done so." (Sutcliffe's Answer to Persons' Three Conv. Lond. 1606. p. 53.) Q. "Can you justify his conduct in any one of these instances, without incurring the flagrant guilt of making vice virtue?" A. Cranmer might easily be justified, more at length, and more completely, in all these instances, both to the credit of his own character, and to that of his apologist.

[u] Stow.

[x] Registrum Poli.

afterwards, it being the feast of the Annunciation, he attended high mass, in great magnificence, at Bow-church, and was there invested with the pall. Having received this ensign of archiepiscopal dignity, he mounted the pulpit, and made it the subject of a sermon. An historian, or an antiquary might indeed, write a disquisition upon such a theme, though he would hardly think of delivering it in a church. But Pole does not appear to have been versed in history or antiquities, and the pall was not likely to supply hints for puerile declamation, or virulent invective. His genius, accordingly, failed of producing a single flash upon this occasion; the sermon proving one of the most idle and jejune compositions ever heard from a pulpit[y]. Pole's conduct in selecting the very time of his predecessor's mental agony, and violent death for his own formal assumption of the primacy has been severely, but justly censured. To this act of his life has been applied the interrogative reproof addressed by Elijah to Ahab: "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession[z]?" But the death of Cranmer was not needed to place him in possession of the archbishopric: the papal bulls investing him with that dignity being no sooner arrived and published in England, than he came into full enjoyment of it. Now, as these instruments made their appearance in our island about the beginning of March, Pole might have deferred the splendid ceremonies attending his formal

[y] Parker, 527.

[z] 1 Kings, xxi. 19. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 533.

assumption of the see, until a decent time after Cranmer's death, without any diminution of his own power, or any shew of disregard to the wants of his diocese [a]. His consecration also inflicted another wound on his reputation. A committee of cardinals and prelates, of which he was a member, assembled at Rome, in 1537, under pontifical authority, for the preparation of a plan to reform the Church, recommended that the offices of cardinal and bishop should be separated in future, as being incompatible with each other [b]. Pole now, however, himself, retained his cardinal's hat in addition to the episcopal mitre. But he seems to have thought that the two dignities could not be properly supported upon the funds provided for only one of them. The wealthy bishopric of Winchester was vacant, and accordingly, under favour of the Pope's indulgence, he applied its revenues to his own use. Nor did White, Bishop of Lincoln, who vehemently coveted the see of Winchester, as having been first schoolmaster, and afterward's warden of Wickham's college there, obtain the splendid object of his ambition until he had simoniacally contracted to pay the Cardinal an annual pension of one thousand pounds, and moreover, to leave him a thousand pounds by will [c]. Besides

[a] Harmer, 145.

[b] M'Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, 84.

[c] Parker, 527. Godwin, de Præsul. 238. Abp. Parker says that this simoniacal agreement was excused at Rome for a pecuniary consideration. "Quæ conventa, quia simoniam redolebant, utrique a Papa non sine remuneratione absolvenda fuerunt."

this, important addition to his ordinary resources, Pole received from the Queen several valuable landed estates belonging to the crown, for the maintenance of his dignity [d].

The last Convocation agreed to a body of canons, laid before it under legatine authority, which were published in February of the present year. In order to remove any doubt as to the legality of his proceedings, and the consequent validity of his decrees, Pole obtained a license under the great seal empowering him to hold synods and to enact canons in them; and protecting the clergy attending such synods from penalties attached to the breach of any existing law [e]. Of the decrees now published, the second is of some importance, because it is a formal assent of the Anglican Church, as existing under Queen Mary, to the doctrines of modern Popery. Nothing being more obvious than that a system of comparative recency, which pretends to the highest antiquity, and that principles professedly divine, which are incapable of proof from the only known record of heavenly knowledge, have no chance of maintaining their ground were the channels of information unobstructed; the Cardinal provided strictly against the circulation of books adverse to Romanism. His second decree, accordingly, condemns, anathematises, and consigns to punishment,

[d] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 474. These properties reverted to the crown under Queen Elizabeth.

[e] This license is dated November 2, 1555. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 508.

all who should read, keep, print, import, sell, defend or praise, either publicly or privately, license from the Apostolical see not having been obtained, any books written by heretics, or such works as are in any manner suspected concerning the faith. Every thing, however, which the Roman Church has approved and received, or shall hereafter approve and receive is indiscriminately admitted. The fourth council of Lateran, termed general, is cited as an authority for the condemnation of all who believe, hold, and teach doctrines at variance with those which are sanctioned by the Church of Rome. The council of Florence is cited as an authority for the pretensions of the papal see, and for the doctrine of the seven sacraments; which are explained in detail.

The other decrees in this collection chiefly relate to discipline. A solemn procession is ordered for St. Andrew's day, in every year, as a commemoration of England's formal return to communion with Rome, upon that day. Provision was to be made for reserving consecrated wafers in churches; with the customary marks of honour. Coarse revelry was not to be allowed on days devoted to celebrating the dedication of churches. Residence upon ecclesiastical benefices of all kinds was to be enforced, bishops, and incumbents with cure were to preach, and parochial ministers were to instruct the younger members of their congregations in the rudiments of religious knowledge. Clergymen were to lead exemplary lives, to go canonically habited, to avoid ostentation in their tables and establishments, to abstain from marriage, if single, and to live apart

from their wives, if married. Due care was to be taken in examining candidates for holy orders, and in the filling of vacant benefices. Simoniacal bargains of all kinds were strictly forbidden. All alienations of ecclesiastical property were interdicted. Schools were to be attached to cathedrals, and ordinaries were to visit with regularity and care[f]. These arrangements, as to discipline, are indeed, for the most part, highly commendable, but unless the Cardinal was considered as above the laws imposed upon his order generally, his condemnation of ostentatious establishments, and simoniacal contracts appears like a severe satire upon his own practice.

Death and exile had now removed the principal English Protestants beyond the reach of their persecutors. The malice and bigotry, however, of these infatuated persons was yet unsated. A scriptural faith was firmly rooted in the land, and every new display of sanguinary hatred to it only served to augment the popular contempt for that traditional

[f] Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reg. Poli, Cardin. Sed. Ap. Leg. A. D. 1556. Labb. et Coss. xiv. 1733. Cabrera says, that Carranza was concerned in the preparation of these canons. He adds, that many of the Bibles chained to desks, in churches, were burnt about this time. Of course, he represents these Bibles as corrupted by the heretics. "En el synodo se establecieron, con intervencion de Frai Bartolome de Carrança, decretos convenientes a la estirpacion de las eregias, i reformacion de lo espiritual. Quemaron muchas Biblias, viciades por los ereges, en lengua Inglesia traducidas, pendientes de cadenas en los asientos de los templos." (Felipe Segundo, 29.) Llorente, (Hist. Inqu.) informs us, that Carranza revised the canons which had been decreed in this national synod.

creed which lent activity to the hand of powerful oppression. As if enraged by this result of its flagitious policy, the government proceeded to sacrifice victims of obscure condition upon a scale of frightful magnitude. Seven martyrs, two of whom were females, cheerfully encountered death, by fire, in Smithfield, on the 27th of January[g]. On the last day of that month, four women and one man were burnt at Canterbury[h]. About the time of Cranmer's departure, two females received the crown of martyrdom at Ipswich[i]. The same distinction fell to the lot of three men, in humble life, at Salisbury, on the 24th of March[k]. Within a month of that time, six individuals, of whom two were clergymen, and four were artisans, expired amidst the flames of Smithfield[l]. Another week had not elapsed before the same fate overtook six religionists, following inferior occupations at Colchester. On the 15th of May a blind man and a cripple were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow, near London[m]. On the following day three women were thus murdered in Smithfield[n]. Atrocities of the same kind were perpetrated in other parts of England at this time. But the horridest spectacle which this unhappy season produced was exhibited at Stratford-le-Bow. Thither,

[g] Foxe, 1687.
[h] Ibid. 1688.
[i] Ibid. 1718.
[k] Ibid. 1719.
[l] Ibid. 1733.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Ibid. 1734.

on the 27th of June, three carts proceeded from Newgate, laden with eleven men and two women. On arriving at this place, the prisoners were divided into two companies, and kept for a while apart, for the purpose of persuading them, as it seems, to a recantation. This, one division was informed, had actually been obtained from their fellows, whose lives, accordingly, would be spared. "We build not our faith upon man, but upon Christ crucified," was the noble answer returned to this false assurance. A similar stratagem was tried with the other division, and it met with a similar reproof. The thirteen willing victims were then led to the scene of their fiery triumph, where, amidst an immense heap of fuel, four stakes reared their heads. Around these the men were distributed and chained. The two women braved the flames without the confinement of a chain. It was computed that nearly twenty thousand persons gazed upon this execution, so glorious to the sufferers, so disgraceful to the government[o]. Of this enormous concourse, a very large proportion undoubtedly left the fatal field, execrating the ruling powers, venerating the martyrs, glorying in their constancy, and unfeignedly respecting the principles which had led them to such an honourable end. This was the general effect of these atrocious proceedings; the young especially returning to their homes impressed with a generous admiration of the victims, and an irrepressible abhorrence of their persecutors. Such an

[o] Foxe, 1738. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 494.

operation of their gloomy tyranny upon the youthful mind, escaped not the notice of those unfeeling bigots who so shamefully abused their trust as rulers. When preparations accordingly, were making for burning the six martyrs in Smithfield, precepts were issued from the civic authorities, in obedience to an order of council, enjoining that young persons should be kept at home. The charge was vainly given. London poured forth, as usual, her youthful population to see and profit by the martyrdom. It might, indeed, have been no easy task to restrain within doors the eager curiosity of early years upon such an occasion. Nor were the seniors generally displeased to mark the consequences of the guilty folly which retained the public mind in a state of feverish excitement. The ever-blazing fires of persecution confirmed, rather than intimidated those who brought reformed opinions to this bloody time, and they fast undermined, in many breasts, a confidence in Romanism hitherto firmly seated. There were even persons zealous for popery when the martyrs first willingly offered their lives at the stake, who thus perished themselves, for the profession of a scriptural faith, before Queen Mary died [p]. The

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 470. The following extract from this page in Strype, contains, probably, the substance of the order of council already mentioned. "January 14, came a letter from the Queen and council, to the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of London, to give substantial order, that when any be delivered to be burned, there be a good number of officers and others appointed to be at the execution: *who may be charged to apprehend, and commit to ward, all such as shall comfort, aid, or*

government, however, appeared immoveably bent upon pursuing its atrocious course; and as if dissatisfied with the number of victims procured by ordinary means, it sent boards of commissioners into different parts of England for the purpose of seeking persons liable to a charge of heresy[q].

To the commissioners, thus employed in Norfolk and Suffolk, some of the parties likely to suffer from their enquiries, addressed a supplication, worthy of attention from the pious spirit pervading it, but more so still from its exhibition, in true colours, of the political character generally maintained by the Reformers under Queen Mary. The memorialists begin by citing passages from Scripture which enjoin obedience to the ruling powers, fully admitting that they consider such texts binding upon their consciences: but they add, the knowledge of these precepts, and the consequent benefit derived from them, would not have been communicated to their minds, had they not been allowed an opportunity of reading the Bible in English. A similar advantage they declare themselves to have received from the public service of the Church in their native tongue; and hence they deprecate the use of the Latin liturgy, as being utterly unprofitable to all who are ignorant of the language in which it is composed. As an obvious example of the mischiefs which had flowed from the long establishment of a service

praise those that are executed. And to charge all householders not to suffer any of their servants to be abroad then, other than such as they will answer for."

[q] Foxe, 1726.

popularly unintelligible, the memorialists state, "it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in, when not one man, in all this realm, unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lord's Prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or could rehearse any one of the Ten Commandments." To this prevailing ignorance are ascribed the idolatrous usages which once overspread the land, the detestable impurities of monks, and the lewd concubinage of secular priests. Against the mass a particular exception is taken, as having superseded the Communion service established under King Edward, which was found highly beneficial and consolatory, and as offering nothing in its room but a succession of ceremonies and gestures, of which ignorant persons cannot comprehend the meaning. Such substitutions of that which is unintelligible to the bulk of men, for that of which all can see the excellence, is attributed to evil councillors about the Queen, who concealed sound information from their sovereign, because they were interested in maintaining the papal supremacy, and the unwritten traditions sanctioned at Rome. The memorialists, however, declare themselves unable, consistently with a well-grounded hope of salvation, to turn their backs upon the spiritual light which they had received. Hence they humbly pray for toleration in the profession of that religion which they learnt in King Edward's reign, and they attribute to their instruction in that pure and rational faith, their exertions in the Queen's favour, on her accession to the throne. "We protest before God," say they, "we think if the Holy

Word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours which we did, in assisting the Queen, our most dear sovereign, against her Grace's mortal foe, that then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his Word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service[r]."

[r] Foxe, 1728. It is well observed by Strype, (Eccl. Mem. iii. 17.) that this passage is a direct and satisfactory refutation of the following assertion made by Persons, (Three Conv. i. 263.) "The only zeal of the common Cath. people for recovering the use of the Cath. religion again, overthrew all, and placed Q. Mary, as is notorious to the world." The truth is, that the religious system of King Edward's reign was more than ordinarily acceptable in the eastern counties, where Mary first established herself; and therefore, if she had not been supported by the Protestants of those parts, her chance of success would have been greatly diminished. Fortunately for her, or at least she and her partizans thought so, the Protestants of that district espoused her cause at once: principally from a sense of duty, and from a confidence in her tolerant intentions; but also partly, it is probable, from a hatred of Northumberland.

From this petition, Dr. Lingard (vii. 493.) has inferred, with great probability, that Queen Mary did not pledge herself to tolerance to the people of Suffolk, on her accession. He takes this document as a *proof* that no such promise was made, concluding, not unreasonably, that had the memorialists known of such a promise, they would have hardly failed to mention it. This, however, is perhaps going something too far. The memorialists were anxious to mollify the spirit of triumphant oppression: an end not likely to be answered by reminding the oppressor of broken faith. Foxe (1279) not only asserts positively, that Mary gave the pledge usually ascribed to her, but adds, that an inhabitant of Wymondham, named Dobbs, or Cobb, reminded her of it soon

While intolerance was carrying grief, horror, and ferocity into all parts of England, those who had escaped from the scene of carnage were aggravating the evils of exile by their own dissensions. Some of the refugees had established themselves at Emden, in East Friesland; others in Switzerland, at Arau, and Zurich; others at Strasburg, and others at Francfort on the Maine. At these places they subsisted by means of funds saved from the wreck of their own properties in England, by means of education, the press, occasional relief from continental Protestants, and remittances from home[1]. This last resource occasioned violent indignation in those cruel and arbitrary minds, which directed English affairs. Bishop Gardiner, in conversing upon the case of his expatriated countrymen, even said, "I will make them so hungry, that they shall be reduced

afterwards, in a petition which he brought up from his neighbourhood. Dr. Lingard says, upon what authority does not appear, "It was proved that Cobb was an impostor, and that the signatures were forgeries." He then adds, that this person was set in the pillory for his offence, on the 24th of November, 1554. Foxe says, that he was set in the pillory "three sundry times;" but the martyrologist expresses no doubt of his integrity. As this man's case is obscure, the fact of his having been pilloried throws a shade of suspicion over Foxe's relation; and therefore the incident was not mentioned in its proper place in this work. But it should be observed, that the pillory was in constant requisition under Queen Mary, and that the date assigned to Dobbs's punishment is that of a time when her Majesty considered herself able to crush the religious liberties of her people, without any danger to herself.

[1] Fuller, 26.

to eat their fingers' ends[t]." Nor did he fail to take measures for the realising of this unfeeling threat, by cutting off supplies from England to the utmost of his power. Happily his malice proved ineffectual, commercial transactions never ceasing to furnish means for the transmission of assistance from wealthy persons at home, to their exiled friends. There were indeed conformists outwardly to Popery, who considered themselves, on that very account, especially bound to make provision for the wants of the refugees. On the other hand, these excellent persons were ever watchful of their oppressed and degraded country; keeping up constantly, though secretly, an intellectual communication with it both by letters, and by the supplying of such books as were suited to preserve from extinction the religious light happily spread over it in better times. At Francfort a church was assigned to the English refugees in common with a congregation of French Protestants. The two nations were to use this edifice on alternate days in the week, and on Sundays, in different portions of the day. Unhappily a very considerable degree of intolerance then prevailed among Protestants. All of them had been reared with a Church before their eyes, having exclusive possession of Europe, and they could not generally look upon their own opinions except as entitled to the same rights of exclusion. In conformity with this narrow spirit of prejudice, it was stipulated by the magistracy of Francfort, in their assignment of a church to the in-

[t] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 403.

sular strangers, that they should make some liturgical concessions to the feelings of the French worshippers who were to share the building with themselves. In consequence the English ceased to use at church the surplice, responses aloud, and the Litany. They substituted for the general confession of the Common Prayer-book, another, judged better adapted for their peculiar circumstances, and they re-arranged the whole service. Having thus innovated upon the religious system which they had used at home, the congregation at Strasburg would fain have brought over the other English refugees to its own practice. Letters, accordingly, were written to the brethren in other places, but with various success. The general tenour of these replies appears to have been procrastinatory. At last a celebrated man, in whose character a degree of intemperance was mingled with admirable zeal and ability, drew from the English exiles decided opinions as to King Edward's Liturgy.

John Knox was born of respectable parentage, in 1505, and having been admitted master of arts in the University of St. Andrew's, he was engaged for some time in teaching philosophy there. About the year 1535 he began to suspect the soundness of Romanism. He did not, however, hastily abandon it; but continued for seven years to deliberate and enquire. His investigation having convinced him that the established religion was unworthy of his reliance, he ceased to profess it, and by consequence, although in holy orders, he gave up all thought of employment in the Church. For a subsistence he went as tutor

into the family of gentlemen like himself, Protestants, and the only exercise of his ministry for some time was the public catechising of his pupils, in a chapel, followed by the reading of a chapter in the Bible, which also he explained. Having excited animosity among his clerical neighbours by these practices, he retired into the castle of St. Andrews, then possessed by the murderers of Cardinal Beatoun. He there catechised, and expounded Scripture, as before; but he declined an invitation to act as regular assistant to Rough, the chaplain of the garrison. That ecclesiastic, however, repeated this invitation from the pulpit, and the congregation joining in it, Knox considered himself obliged in conscience to resume his clerical functions. After a short interval the castle capitulated to an overwhelming French force, all its inmates having bargained for a passage to France, where they were to be set at liberty. This treaty was violated when the French ships arrived off the coast of Normandy; and Knox, together with others, was sent on board the gallies. In this miserable captivity he continued for nineteen months, greatly to the injury of his health. In 1549 he was allowed to pass over into England, where his principles and talents immediately gained for him an honourable employment, being commissioned to reside at Berwick, and to itinerate in the north. In 1551 he was appointed one of the royal chaplains in ordinary, and he occasionally displayed his pulpit oratory before King Edward. It was intended to reward his exertions by the rectory of Allhallows, Bread-street, in London; but Knox had

imbibed a prejudice against some parts of the English ecclesiastical system, and he declined that benefice. Soon after Queen Mary's accession he itinerated in Buckinghamshire, where very numerous congregations attended his preaching. In January, 1554, he made his escape into France; and, after some wanderings, he settled himself at Geneva. Thence he was invited by the English exiles at Francfort to act as their minister: a call which he obeyed with reluctance [u].

Knox, having reached his new congregation, entered into its liturgical disputes with all his usual spirit. Desiring, however, to fortify his own opinion, he requested Calvin's judgment upon the English Common Prayer. An answer from Geneva soon pronounced the volume defective in the requisite degree of purity, many unsuitable things being contained in it, which, though endurable for a time, demanded retrenchment upon the first favourable opportunity. This decision alienated the refugees at Francfort, more than ever from the liturgy which they had used at home, and they determined upon the preparation of a new service, likely to satisfy

[u] Life of John Knox by T. M'Crie, D.D. Edinb. 1818. Dr. M'Crie has furnished reasons for believing that Knox had the offer of a bishopric under Edward, and he conjectures that Newcastle was the see in question. Grindal, however, appears to have been thought of for this intended see. The sanguine temper of Knox, and the partiality of his friends have, probably, led to an estimate of his influence in Edward's court something above its reality. M'Crie, i. 101. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 420. Eccl. Mem. ii. 72. Life of Abp. Grindal, 71.

the disciples of Calvin. This compromising disposition was opportunely broken by the arrival, at Francfort, of Dr. Cox, the late King Edward's tutor, who, going to church with a party of his friends, repeated the responses aloud. A resolute stand was now made for the English liturgy. Knox's party, however, appears to have been the more powerful, for his opponents resorted to a disingenuous artifice, as the means of removing him out of their way. They selected from one of his publications certain passages offensive to the imperial family. Knox had uttered these expressions from the pulpit, in Buckinghamshire, at the beginning of Mary's reign, when the public mind was agitated by rumours of the Queen's intention to marry the prince of Spain. Such a connection was designated in this discourse as a return of England into Egypt, and the Emperor's enmity to Christ was represented as no less than Nero's. Information of these passages being formally laid before the magistracy of Francfort, that body felt itself obliged to command the departure of Knox from that city. The Scottish reformer returned immediately to Geneva, and the congregation at Francfort consented, at length, to receive King Edward's liturgy. A great space of time was consumed in these disputes, alike injuriously to the comfort of the refugees, and to their respectability in the eyes of those among whom they had found an asylum [x].

The papal party was gratified in this year by a

[x] Fuller, 34. Collier, ii. 396.

victory gained over Sir John Cheke. That eminent scholar, having acted as secretary of state during Jane's usurpation, was imprisoned upon the success of Mary. His crime being aggravated by his religious principles, he long found himself unable to obtain that pardon which was so freely bestowed upon Romanists and latitudinarians. After suffering very severely in his circumstances, he was, however, gratified by the royal clemency in 1554, and he then went abroad, upon a licence to travel. In the course of his wanderings, he visited Italy, and fixing himself for a time at Padua, he subsisted there by the teaching of Greek. Having visited such places as he had wished to see, he considered it inexpedient to return home, on account of the persecution which raged in England. He settled, therefore, at Strasburg, where he had an opportunity of joining a congregation of his countrymen, and there is reason to believe that he gained his living in that city by reading a Greek lecture. His abode there was abruptly terminated by means of an invitation received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, two old acquaintances of his, then at Brussels; where the former had arrived with a view to the restoration of his health; and the latter resided as English minister. Anxious as Cheke was for an interview with his ancient friends, he could not disguise from himself the danger of venturing into the imperial territories. But like most men of his age, he believed in astrology, and this weakness betrayed him to his ruin. The stars assured him, as he fancied, that he might safely go to Brussels, but

between that place and Antwerp, his confidence in them was fatally deceived. He was waylaid, unhorsed, blindfolded, and conveyed bound in a waggon to the water's edge, where he was hurried on ship-board. The vessel immediately steered for England, but Cheke knew nothing of his course until he found himself within the Tower of London. He had travelled with Sir Peter Carew, the partizan who strove to raise the West, at the time of Wyat's insurrection: and Carew, together with himself, arrived a prisoner in England. Cheke, however, appears to have been guiltless of any participation in that conspirator's designs. He was merely charged with settling upon the continent, having gone thither with a license to travel only[y]. Being lodged in the Tower, he was assailed by incessant importunities to recant; and finding that the stake awaited him unless he should comply, the flesh at length overcame his constancy. On the 4th of October, 1556, he publicly assented, in the Queen's presence, to a recantation which had been prepared for him. This humiliation did not, however, satisfy his enemies; and, accordingly, Cardinal Pole drew another recantation extremely full and prolix, to which also the unhappy prisoner gave his public assent. Under these miserable exhibitions of his weakness, Cheke's constitution wholly gave way: he pined, the victim of self-reproach, until the 13th of September, 1557, and then, at the age of forty-three, he found a refuge in the grave[z].

[y] Strype's Life of Cheke, Oxf. 1821, p. 105.

[z] Strype's Cheke, 94. 96. 104, 105, 106. 113. 117. 131. Sir

In the course of the last year each of the Universities had chosen Pole for its chancellor[a]; and in the beginning of 1557 these two learned bodies were honoured by the Cardinal's especial interference. His principal confidant, Nicholas Ormaneto, an Italian of intolerable arrogance[b], afterwards Bishop of Padua, being joined in commission with Scot, Bishop of Chester, and other English dignitaries, arrived in Cambridge on the 9th of January. On the following day these persons laid the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael under an interdict; the former being the place of Bucer's sepulchre, the latter of Fagius's.

John Cheke was born at Cambridge, but his family was of ancient standing among the gentry in the Isle of Wight, where it was seated, at Motston. His academical education was received at St. John's College, in Cambridge, where he obtained high distinction. He was the first regius professor of Greek in his University, and was eminently successful in spreading a knowledge of that noble language among the students. He was also public orator, and eventually Provost of King's College. As an instructor he distinguished himself by reforming, in spite of a violent opposition, the pronunciation of Greek; the old usage being to sound αι as ε; οι, ει, η, ι, υ, as ι; to say nothing of some absurdities in uttering the consonants. Cheke appears to have been recommended to Henry VIII. by Dr. Butts, the royal physician. He married the daughter of a wine-merchant in London, named Hill, who also held a place in the King's cellar. By this lady he left issue, and his descendants long occupied a place among the gentry of Essex.

[a] Le Neve, 390. 443.

[b] "In Ormaneto nil aliud quam arrogantia intolerabilis eminebat; qua re tam mirifice excellebat, ut ne fingi quidem aut cogitari quicquam possit arrogantius. Wood, Hist. et Antiqu. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 279." (Neve's Animadv. 536.) Ormaneto died papal nuncio, at Madrid. Ribadeneyra, 232.

The University now, after a shew of deliberating upon the cases of these two deceased professors, presented a supplication to the commissioners for a solemn enquiry into the doctrine of the parties whose remains had brought such disgrace upon two of the churches. This application being favourably received, Bucer and Fagius were cited to appear, either personally or by their proctors, before the Cardinal's representatives. The citations were duly published, being posted up on the doors of St. Mary's church, and of the schools, and in the market-place. These precautions proved, however, ineffectual; for when the court assembled at the time appointed, it was attended neither by Bucer nor Fagius, nor by any person in their behalf. This neglect was very meekly borne by the commissioners, who at once adjourned their business to a future day, and took measures, as before, for acquainting the deceased foreigners with the proper time for entering upon their defence. The second day, however, arrived, and it brought before the court neither dead man, ghost, nor proctor. Any farther forbearance being deemed unnecessary, Bucer and Fagius, after a formal condemnation as obstinate heretics, were now delivered over to the secular arm. While the execution of this sentence awaited the arrival from court of the customary writ, the commissioners applied themselves to the other objects of their mission. During this interval occurred the feast of the Purification, or Candlemas-day, as it is popularly called. The visitors, of course, attended the sermon, at St. Mary's, upon this occasion; as did also a very large congregation

of persons less distinguished. The preacher indulged, as might be expected, in a copious declamation against heresy and heretics; but in some things he succeeded in surprising even the people who came prepared to commend his discourse. He told them, that on the day which had given rise to the present festival, both Joseph and the Virgin walked in processional order to the temple, with wax candles in their hands. This Romish tradition, being new, overset the gravity of many people in the church. Within four days after this[c] the condemned heretics underwent their sentence, the coffins being dug up, carried to the place of execution, amidst a great body of armed men, chained to a stake, and burnt. This operation, happily so novel in England, was accomplished on a market-day, greatly to the surprise of the country people, some of whom looked on with contempt, and all with disgust. An attempt to exhibit the same spectacle in Oxford, wholly failed. Peter Martyr's wife, a very pious and charitable woman buried in the cathedral of Christ-church, was to have figured as delinquent upon this occasion; but it was found impossible to obtain the requisite evidence against her. She had been incapable of conversing with the people around her from her ignorance of their language, and accordingly certain testimony as to her religious opinions could not be collected. In this dilemma Pole was consulted, and he determined, that the deceased, having been a nun who had broken her vows, ought not, at any

[c] February 6.

rate, to be deposited by the side of St. Frideswide. This answer caused the immediate transfer of the amiable foreigner's remains, from the church to a neighbouring dunghill. On Queen Elizabeth's accession, the bones of Martyr's wife recovered their former position; but they were so intermingled with the relics of St. Frideswide, that any future violator of their repose would be compelled to treat with equal indignity the remains of a Romish saint. In addition to their war upon the dead, Cardinal Pole's visitors occupied themselves in destroying English Bibles, with other books, termed heretical, in imposing punishments upon members of suspected principles, and in fine, in reducing the two Universities to the standard of papal orthodoxy [d].

[d] Foxe, 1785. Mary's tranquillity was often disturbed by popular complaints of Spanish influence. To that source, it is certainly reasonable to trace the ridiculous and indecent war waged with corpses mouldering at Oxford and Cambridge. Such wretched exhibitions were far from unusual in the Peninsula, and they have no doubt, contributed to lower the intellectual standard of its inhabitants; thus reducing to political insignificance a region which nature formed for one of the most important in Europe. Spanish theologians, it should be recollected, were imported into England, by Philip, for the purpose of establishing their own opinions among the insular heretics, and Carranza, the most illustrious of these foreigners, is said to have been concerned in the insult offered to Bucer's remains. (Llorente, Hist. Inqu.) In Edward's reign an outcry was made by the Romish party, because a few learned foreign Protestants were patronised by the government. A similar policy pursued under Mary certainly seems to have produced very different fruits. While Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and other eminent

Among Mary's cares for the complete restoration of Popery, monachism was not forgotten. The Franciscan Observants were established in their old quarters, at Greenwich, a house was provided in Smithfield, for a society of Dominicans, a Carthusian convent was founded, at Sheen, one of Brigittine's, at Sion; in the abbey of Westminster was once more seated a community of Benedictines[e], and the Hospitallers recovered their former abode on the northern edge of London[f]. These arrangements naturally called attention to the suppression under King Henry, a measure which had placed upon record a great mass of matter highly unpalatable at this time. All the monastic bodies had unequivocally renounced the Pope, a considerable proportion of them lay under charges of the grossest immorality. The written evidence of these things was now pronounced at court, as rather tending to subvert re-

strangers of similar principles, were possessed of influence with the English ministry, we hear nothing of citing and burning the dead.

[e] Dr. Weston unwillingly resigned the deanery of Westminster for that of Windsor. Feckenham was then transferred from the deanery of St. Paul's to the abbacy of Westminster. After Weston had filled his new deanery about twelve months, he was dispossessed of it for the crime of adultery. Heylin (Hist. Ref. 235,) conjectures, that this severity was used to a man so active as a papal partizan, because Pole was disgusted with his unwillingness to resign the deanery of Westminster. But Weston was a man at once so profligate and conspicuous, that it was, probably, found impossible to connive at his irregularities any longer.

[f] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 236.

ligion, and religious houses, than to spread a knowledge of the truth. A royal commission, accordingly, was issued to Bishop Boner, Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, and Martin, a civilian, authorizing them to search for all records relating to the dissolution of monasteries, and to dispose of such instruments at their discretion[s]. A scrutiny of this description, conducted by such commissioners, could not fail to make important erasures among the national records. Satisfactory, therefore, as an English Protestant finds the history of his Church's emancipation, it is highly probable that many interesting statements evincing the necessity of that important change, have been designedly suppressed. In one remarkable instance monkish auxiliaries were declined in England about this time. A letter from Loyola invited Pole to place some English students under Jesuitic tuition!

[s] This commission is dated from Greenwich, December 29. The following are the grounds alleged for the issue of it: "Whereas it has come to our knowledge, that in the time of the late schism, divers and sundry accounts, books, scrolls, instruments and other writings, were practised, devised, and made *concerning professions against the Pope's Holiness, and the see Apostolic; and also sundry and divers infamous scrutinies were taken in abbeys and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion, than for any truth contained therein*; which writings, and other the premises, as we be informed, were delivered to the custody and charge of divers and sundry registrars, and other officers and ministers of this our realm of England, to be by them kept and preserved. And minding to have the said writings and other premises brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered according to our will and pleasure," &c. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 414.

The Legate took no notice of this invitation, and thus the brief season of his authority passed over unstained by the patronage of that one among the organised combinations moving at the papal will, which is most active and insidious.[h]

All the expedients, however, adopted for the extirpation of a scriptural faith, backed as they were by that atrocious persecution, which incessantly deluged the land with blood, wholly failed of success. The popular abhorrence of popery daily acquired force and extension. Even the public functionaries began to shrink from the hateful duties imposed upon them, and the government of England, like those of continental nations, imbibed a suspicion, that nothing short of the most scrutinising and unrelenting barbarity could shield the Roman Church from extinction. Her defence was entrusted, in Spain and Italy, to the Inquisition, an institution warmly recommended by the reigning pope[i]. In England, this tribunal had never been established, and it was obviously rather hazardous to force it upon the country without some preparation. This

[h] Phillips, ii. 233. Neve's Animadv. 539.

[i] "D'eterna lode lo fà degno il tribunal dell' Inquisizione, che dal zelo di lui e prima in autorità di consigliero, e poscia in podestà di principe, riconosce il presente suo vigor nell' Italia, *e dal quale riconosce l' Italia la conservata integrità della sua fede*." (Pallavicino, ii. 128.) This passage is worthy of remark, probably, even more on account of its concluding clause, than of its testimony to Paul's love for the Inquisition. It is undoubtedly an important admission from a Cardinal and a Jesuit, that without the systematic use of death and torture, Italy herself would have embraced the Reformation.

was made in a commission, issued on the 8th of February, directed to the Bishops Boner and Thirlby, the Lords Windsor and North, Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, and several other persons, either officers of state, common lawyers, or civilians. The whole, or any three of this board, were empowered to enquire, either by means of a jury, or "by any other means and politic ways they could devise, into all cases of heresies, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours, tales, seditious and clamorous words and sayings." The most ample liberty of search and of summons was conferred upon this formidable court. It was also to take cognizance of all offences and negligences connected with public worship, and of all embezzlements of ecclesiastical property. Especially was its attention to be fixed upon those who should refuse to preach transubstantiation, to hear mass, to go in procession, to take holy water, or holy bread. Individuals convened before it upon a charge of heresy and refusing to recant, were to be transmitted to their proper ordinaries. More tractable prisoners were to suffer fine and imprisonment at the court's discretion[k]. It is obvious, that this tribunal required little more than its peculiar prisons, and the power of awarding extreme penalties to obnoxious opinions, in order to establish its identity with the Inquisition.

A criminal prosecution which occurred in the early part of this year, reflected credit upon the

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 427.

government. Charles, Lord Stourton, had been constantly a dissentient, when bills unfavourable to Romanism came before the House of Lords, in King Edward's reign. His widowed mother then resided in Somersetshire, with a gentleman named Hartgill, whose interference he vainly sought in order to extort from the old lady an engagement to pay a large sum of money, in case she should marry again. His failure in this object enraged him, and being of a ferocious lawless disposition, he determined upon intimidation, if not upon revenge. He went, accordingly, attended by a considerable retinue of armed men, to Kilmington, where Hartgill lived, and after forcing him to take refuge in the church-tower, with two or three servants, he kept him there besieged, during three days. Meanwhile, the younger Hartgill rode in haste to London, and representing to the council his father's case, an order was despatched to the sheriff of the county, both to deliver the imprisoned gentleman, and to send up the peer a prisoner to London. Prompt obedience being paid to this mandate, Stourton was lodged, for a short time, in the Fleet. Having regained his liberty, he never ceased to annoy the Hartgills, taking every opportunity to plunder them of corn and cattle, during the whole of Edward's reign. As they favoured the Reformation, he seems to have thought that his vindictive outrages would safely bear an increase of audacity, upon Mary's accession. Hartgill, however, appealed to the Queen, and under her mediation the parties apparently were reconciled. A violent assault committed upon the younger Hartgill, by some of the peer's ruffianly dependants,

quickly shewed, that on his part, no reconciliation was to be expected, and in consequence he was prosecuted before the Star-chamber, by which he was fined and imprisoned. Having obtained leave, under some pretence, of a temporary absence from the Fleet, where he was confined, he proceeded to his residence in Wiltshire. To this house, having first decoyed the Hartgills into his power, he conveyed them prisoners, and there, four bravoes, in his employment, cruelly murdered them before his eyes. One of the miscreants, hired for this infernal purpose, was so much overcome by the horrors of the scene, that he said, "Ah! my Lord, this is a piteous sight; had I thought what I now think, before the thing was done, your whole land could not have won me to consent to such an act." Sectarian bigotry had, however, sharpened the miserable peer's evil passions, and he savagely replied: "What, faint-hearted knave, is it any more than the riddance of two scoundrels who, living, were troublesome both to God's law and man's? There is no more account to be made of them, than the killing of two sheep." The heavy hand of justice quickly stopped the perpetrators of this atrocity in their mad career of crime and folly. Stourton, resolute as he had been in defending principles now dominant, in the hour of their depression, was hanged at Salisbury, together with the wretches whom his wealth had lured to an ignominious, premature, and guilty passage to another world[1].

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 600. This execution took place on the 6th of March. It appears from Bishop Burnet's supplemental volume, (Hist. Ref. iii. 381.) that a story, traditionally

In the spring of this year Mary was gratified by a visit from her husband, the last that ever he paid to England. His principal object was undoubtedly to engage her in a war with France. Extreme as was the age which the Pope had attained [m], his breast was ever abandoned as a prey to the most furious passions. He was vain, self-opiniated, tenacious, ostentatious, eager to advance his own kindred, lofty, impetuous, choleric, inflexibly severe, fool-hardy, indiscreet, suspicious, and revengeful; grossly cajoled by flatterers before his face, derided by all the world behind his back [n]. This unhappy old man's

current in Wiltshire, represents it as having been the intention of the government to reprieve Lord Stourton, and that instructions, which actually arrived from London on the night before the execution, were kept from the sheriff, by means of a stratagem. This account, however, is vague and improbable: nor does the Bishop himself appear to have thought it of much importance.

[m] Paul IV. was born in 1476. Phillips's Pole, ii. 259.

[n] "Ricevette dalla natura una eloquenza mirabile, mà con soverchio appetito di viderla ammirata; il quale s' andò sempre aguzzando e non satollando col pasto frequente nell' altezza della fortuna; e gli cagionò grand' adulazione in presenza, mà non minore irrisione in assenza. Largo estimator di sè stesso, e stretto degli altri così nella potenza, come nel senno; tuttavia buon conoscitore e riconoscitore della virtù. Lo spirito della divozione in lui non valse ad estinguere altri spiriti derivati in esso ò dalla patria, ò dalla famiglia, ò dalla complessione: dalla prima, ritenne una superstiziosa diligenza d' attillatura nel vestito, e una pompa più ch' ecclesiastica nel trattamento; dalla seconda, soverchio amore del sangue, e nel sangue soverchia stima di titoli, e di grandezze mondane; dalla terza, una maniere di trattare sollevata, impetuosa, collerica, e una sorte di severità che sembrava orgoglio. Hebbe maggior coraggio à punir le male opere in ogni gran personaggio, che prudenza per impedirle. E s' avisò che,

chief abhorrence was the Austrian family, of which he could not bring himself to speak, even in public, with common decency. He reprobated it as enslaving Italy by force of arms, as circumscribing ecclesiastical privileges in Spain by policy, and as encouraging heresy in Germany by means of diets. He was vainly reminded, that Italy seemed fated to bear a foreign yoke, that Spain was of all ultramontane countries the one most obedient to Rome, and that the imperial house had been incessantly engaged in strenuous opposition to the German heretics °. Paul would hear no councillors but his own vanity, or violence, or his interested relatives. It was to these last, indeed, that his antipathy for the Austrians was mainly owing. His own family was in constant collision with the Colonnas and Sforzas, two powerful houses, now especially patronised by the Imperialists as a counterbalance to the weight of papal influence acquired by the Carrafas from their partial and grasping kinsman's elevation to the popedom. Enraged by this opposition to his overweening selfishness, Paul would not rest until he had impelled the

tutto l'ampiezza dello spiritual suo potere fosse anche la misura di saggiamente esercitarlo; non avvertendo che nà luogo nelle cose naturali, non nelle civili, la regola essere indarno quella potenza che non si riduce all' atto." (Pallavicino, ii. 128.) The other characteristics of Paul, mentioned in the text, are taken from the following passage, cited by Phillips, (ii. 248.) from Graziani, Bishop of Amelia, a respectable contemporary authority. "Cujus erat ingenium elatum, vehemens, acre, et cum pronum ad suspicionem, tum ubi fides et religio ageretur, præceps ad vindicandum."

° Pallavicino, *ut supra*.

King of France into hostilities with Spain, under a promise of assisting him in the obtainment of Naples, a kingdom to which the French princes inherited a claim, and of which they had several times unsuccessfully laboured to possess themselves [p]. Philip being thus involved in war, naturally desired assistance in the contest from his wife's resources. Mary could allege plausible grounds of complaint against France. Her infamous and unceasing cruelties had overspread England with discontent, thus holding out constant allurements to those unprincipled and turbulent adventurers, who never fail to start from obscurity whenever political uneasiness affords them a hope of plunder. A succession of these desperate characters necessarily annoyed such a government as Mary's; and although none of their attempts were important, yet all of them received some degree of encouragement from France. Henry's interference, however, in English affairs, though irritating, was hardly such as to call for war, and therefore the Queen's constitutional advisers agreed to a rupture, with great difficulty. Their consent having been extorted by means of Philip's influence over their mistress, no man in Europe heard the announcement with greater anger than the Pope. His violence received additional force on the receipt of an expostulatory letter from Pole. The Cardinal wrote, according to his habit, with a great parade of courtesy and reverence; but amidst all these flattering forms it was intimated intelligibly enough, that papal in-

[p] Phillips, ii. 238.

fluence had embroiled the courts of France and Spain [q]. Paul had already recalled his ministers from all the dominions of Philip, and he now caused a letter to be prepared, announcing that Pole's legation was included in this hostile measure [r]. He was not even contented with pronouncing the Cardinal no longer *legatus a latere;* in his ungovernable rage he sought also to take from him the title of *legatus natus* [s], so long appended to the see of Canterbury. Religious grounds, of course, were assigned for this offensive stretch of authority. Pole was denounced as a man suspected of heresy, and therefore unworthy of the papal confidence until his principles

[q] Godwin, Annal. 130.

[r] Pallavicino, ii. 94. This page also informs us, what is sufficiently well known from other sources, that Paul made demonstrations of proceeding against the Emperor, and his son Philip, as heretics; talking of depriving them of their dominions. We also learn that he included them, intelligibly enough, among the excommunications of the annual bull *in Cœna Domini;* and that in the papal mass of Good-Friday, the usual prayer for the Emperor was omitted.

[s] This appears from the following passages; the first occurring in an application made in Pole's behalf, to the Pontiff, by Philip and Mary; the second, in a similar application from the privy council: "Atque ita revocari, ut legationem sedi Cantuarien. innatam, et penitus annexam, multor. retro summor. pontificum actis confirmatam, multor. qui ante nos fuerant Angliæ regum prærogativa usurpatam Vra Stas non exciperet."—"Illud enim vehementer mirum in literis Sanctitatis V. et inauditum videbatur, revocari non solum sanctissimam illam a latere legationem, sed etiam alteram, sedi Cantuariensi innatam, et cum ea ita conjunctam, ut disjungi non solum re et usu, sed nec opinione quidem et cogitatione possit." Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 475. 479.

should be satisfactorily cleared from this imputation[t]. For it there was, indeed, a plausible colour. Pole's disgraceful services to the Papacy as a libeller, a polemic, and a political incendiary, had been requited by the government of Viterbo, in the papal states. He had lived there in comparative retirement, surrounded by books and literary men. Italian scholars had, however, extensively adopted a scriptural faith, and individuals thus enlightened associated habitually with the noble English exile. In this company there is reason for believing his own mind saw something of the truth; and in the article of justification by faith, he seems, like other eminent persons of his acquaintance, never any more to have erred with Rome[u]. As any thing of a dissentient from papal

[t] Pallavicino, ii. 97.

[u] Parker, 519. Ridley's Review of Phillips, 139. Pole associated, at Viterbo, with Flaminio and Carnesecchi, two scholars of eminence, of whom the former is known to have entertained Protestant opinions, and it does not appear that he ever retracted them: the latter was beheaded as a heretic, and his body burnt, in 1567. (M'Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, 174. 293.) Cardinal Morone, another of Pole's friends, had actually been taken into custody as a heretic. (Pallavicino, ii. 97.) Pole's friend, Contarini, and also himself, appear to have thought with the Protestants upon justification. (M'Crie, *ut supra*, 178.) Carranza, another individual at one time in Pole's confidence, was charged with having spoken in a sermon, preached in London before King Philip, "of the justification of men by a lively faith in the passion and death of Jesus Christ, in terms approaching to Lutheranism." (Llorente, Hist. Inqu.) Carranza was consecrated Archbishop of Toledo in 1558, but he was soon afterwards delated to the Inquisition as a heretic, and he died at Rome after an imprisonment

doctrines, his countrymen, however, were very far from thinking of Pole; and, therefore, the Pope's attacks upon him were no sooner known in England than they were viewed merely as the effervescence of political animosity, and of that unfriendly feeling which had often alienated him from the English Cardinal when they came into personal contact in former times. Anxious, accordingly, to prevent an unadvised explosion offensive to themselves, painful to a man whom they valued, and injurious to the cause which they were labouring to promote, a remonstrance was addressed to Paul by the King and Queen[x]. Similar applications were also made to him by the council, and the nobility[y]. All these

of eighteen years. Since Carranza was much about the person of Charles V. as were several others eventually denounced as heretics, that prince became suspected of heresy; but the suspicion appears groundless. Charles was so thoroughly possessed by Romish opinions, that he even flogged himself violently before his death, in the hope of abridging his stay in purgatory. His choice of so many persons as instruments, doubting, if not disbelieving Romanism, arose probably merely from his anxiety to retain the services of able and upright men. A very large proportion of such individuals in his day throughout Europe had imbibed a habit of looking with no friendly eye upon the papal claims and traditions.

It is obvious, when the characters of some among Pole's acquaintances are considered, that there were grounds for suspecting the precise complexion of his principles. These suspicions also were strengthened by some instances of lenity shewn to the Reformers in England, and more still by his general habits of tolerance while he lived at Viterbo.

[x] Dated May 21, 1557.

[y] Neither of these papers is dated.

pieces represent the legate's conduct in very advantageous colours, and press upon his holiness the expediency of proceeding with great caution in the management of a country so recently and imperfectly recovered for his see as England. The nobility even assume something of a menacing air, and talk of feeling themselves bound by solemn obligations to maintain the privileges of their country [z]. Paul, however, seems to have become sensible, before any of these addresses could have reached him, that he was trifling dangerously with his interest. He strove, accordingly, to consult the feelings of Mary and her subjects, without appearing to abandon the plans which he had previously announced. With this view he created a cardinal, and nominated to the English legation William Peto, the Franciscan observant, who had so grossly insulted Henry VIII [a].

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 481.

[a] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 406. Cardinal Pallavicino glosses over this insult by saying, that Peto ventured upon the apostolical liberty of pronouncing from the pulpit the reality of Henry's marriage with Catharine. Being justly driven from England for this "liberty," the seditious friar took refuge in Italy, and the reigning Pope saw him at Pole's house in that country. The high opinion which Paul there formed of his character and abilities was the reason alleged for his unexpected promotion to the cardinalate, and the legation. The true reason, however, of this preferment was obviously the hope of reconciling Mary to the attack upon Pole, when she should see another of her confidants elevated to the highest distinction. It is very little to the Queen's honour, that she should have chosen for confessor a man who had so publicly outraged the feelings of her father. Peto, it is true, had been a spiritual adviser to her mother, and had suffered as much as a man, who had vowed to live by beg-

and who now, much to her discredit, occupied the post of confessor to his daughter. Mary was, however, unappeased by the compliment paid to her ghostly father; and as formerly, when it suited her purpose, she had schismatically, according to her own notions, assumed the privileges of Supreme Ecclesiastical Head; so now, her passions again exciting her, she placed herself in an attitude of sulky defiance towards the Roman see. She suppressed the papal briefs recalling Pole, and refused to receive the messenger who brought the red hat to her confessor, Peto [b]. It was intended that Pole should remain ignorant of the disgrace into which he had fallen, or at least, by suffering no official communications on the subject to reach him, that he should have a pretence for feigning himself so, and should therefore unconcernedly continue to exercise the legatine functions. But he declined this course: he no longer allowed the silver cross to be borne before him, and he ceased to act as papal representative. He sent, moreover, his friend Ormaneto to Rome, as an apologist for his conduct, and he wrote a long justification of himself, garnished, according to his custom, with some stinging reflexions upon the tri-crowned

gary, can suffer in the cause which had engrossed her own affections. Old age also seems to have subdued his once fiery fanaticism; but still he was not likely to be a safe counsellor to Mary, and he could not be a creditable one.

[b] This latter fact was alleged to the Spanish ambassador by Queen Elizabeth, as one among other reasons, why she should refuse to receive a papal nuncio who desired admittance to her. Pallavicino, ii. 205.

author of his trouble [c]. When Ormaneto reached Rome the papal troops had been defeated in Italy, and a splendid victory over the French had been gained at St. Quintin's, chiefly by means of Philip's English auxiliaries. The Pope was therefore moderate in his tone, and forbore to question the orthodoxy of Pole. His countrymen indeed appeared resolute in the Cardinal's defence, queries being even submitted to the lawyers as to the privileges constitutionally claimable by the Roman see over England [d]. All these demonstrations of resistance, aided as they were by political events, admonished Paul that his ends were unattainable. He suffered, therefore, Pole to act as *legatus natus*, and quietly permitted his other intended arrangements to remain unaccomplished [e].

[c] It might seem that Pole had by this time seen the folly of sending his insulting lucubrations to crowned heads, and that he, therefore, determined upon suppressing this attack upon the Pope; for Pallavicino tells us, that when he took into his hand the fair copy of his memorial, he thought of the evil which overtook Ham, from his unseemly treatment of his parent, Noah, the common ancestor of mankind, (Gen. ix. 22. 25.) and saying, "I will not discover my father's nakedness," he threw the paper into the fire. The piece, however, appears to be still extant, most probably written from the original draught; as Strype (Eccl. Mem. iii. 34) has printed extracts from such a production, which he found in MS. The whole seems to be, according to the Cardinal's wont, intolerably tedious.

[d] These queries, "together with their answers, are still extant in the Paper-house." Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. part 2. p. 40.

[e] Peto, whose conduct in this affair shews advantageously, because he seems never to have moved in it at all, was now not less than eighty years of age. He was born of a gentleman's family,

In the beginning of the year popular discontent was augmented by the loss of Calais. This place, which was dear to the national pride, was unexpectedly invested on the 1st of January; and, being inadequately provided with the means of defence, it soon surrendered to the French arms. Its dependencies were speedily involved in its fate; and, before the month closed, England ceased to hold a foot of land in France. This circumstance, probably, posterity has no reason to regret; but those who were contemporary with the loss viewed it as a serious misfortune and disgrace to the country. Calais was looked upon as a place betrayed to the enemy, alike by the imbecility of the government at home, and by the treachery of those who had been entrusted with its defence. Amidst these murmurs the Parliament assembled[f], having been called for the granting of supplies, a business little likely to

seated at Chesterton, in Warwickshire. His promotion to the cardinalate took place on the 14th of June, 1557. On the death of Bp. Capon, which occurred on the 6th of October, 1557, the Pope appointed Peto to the see of Salisbury; but he never obtained possession of that preferment, his death happening in the following May. The bearer of his red hat appears to have been stopped at Calais. In fact, although nominated, at the close of a very long life, cardinal, legate, and bishop, he seems never to have assumed any one of these characters: a convincing proof, if this abstinence were voluntary on his part, of his good sense, and of his ripeness for a scene immeasureably above this world's vanities. Phillips, ii. 247. Note to Le Courayer's F. Paul, ii. 39. Godwin, de Præsul. 353, 354.

[f] The Legislature met on the 20th of January, and it was prorogued on the 7th of March. Subsidies were granted. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. part 2. p. 105.

lighten the pressure of public dissatisfaction. Mary now felt her situation extremely wretched. To the detestation or apathy with which her government had been generally viewed, a high degree of contempt was now added. She was, besides, a prey to domestic uneasiness: her constitution was decaying; and her husband, upon whom she doted, ever found excuses for denying her the pleasure of a visit. Under this constant indisposition and disappointment her mind lost its vigour, and she wore away her melancholy hours in repinings on account of Philip's absence, and in fits of anger against her own subjects [g].

England, accordingly, while Mary lived, constantly presented those mournful spectacles which have justly brought everlasting infamy upon her memory. The murderous pyre never ceased to blaze while she remained on earth to kindle it. Within a week of her death five martyrs were burnt at Canterbury. Altogether, not fewer than two hundred and eighty-eight individuals appear to have perished at the stake during the time in which the country was abandoned to her unrelenting fanaticism: a period short of four years [h]. When to this

[g] Noailles, v. 362. 370.

[h] "In 1555, were burnt 71
1556, ... 89
1557, ... 88
1558, ... 40
Total 288
besides those that died of famine in sundry prisons." (Strype,

mass of suffering are added the miseries inflicted upon English Protestants by means of confiscation, and other pecuniary losses, of imprisonment, and of exile, very sufficient grounds will appear for the popular execration which at length reached her ears, and helped to send her half broken-hearted to the tomb. Her administration was also rendered hateful by its natural tendency to produce insurrectionary

Eccl. Mem. Append. 554, from one of the Cecilian MSS.) Dr. Lingard, (vii. 285) computes the sufferers at the stake at "almost two hundred;" but he alleges no authority for this computation.

In a tract which Lord Burghley published in vindication of the severities against Romish traitors, to which Elizabeth was driven after the Pope's bull pretending to dethrone her was issued, is the following estimate of the numbers who perished in various ways under Mary's persecuting policy. "In the time of Queen Mary, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, *almost the number of four hundred*, and of that number above twenty that had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates, or officers in the Church, lamentably destroyed; and of women above three score, and of children above forty: and amongst the women, some great with child, out of whose bodies the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burned: extremes beyond all heathen cruelty. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children, (which is to be noted,) were such as had never by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, nor were ever taught, or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but only of that, which, by their blood and death in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify." Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason, Dec. 17, 1583. Republished, with two other Treatises concerning the Penal Laws. 1688. p. 14.

attempts [i], and inflammatory publications [k]. These of course augmented the number of executions;

[i] The only considerable attempt upon the public peace in this reign was that of Wyat. Of this it should be recollected, the sole ostensible cause, was a desire to prevent Mary from marrying the Prince of Spain. Romanists, accordingly, were among Wyat's partizans. Of the other conspiracies in this reign, we read of Dudley's first. This happened in the winter and spring of 1555-6, that is, after the nation was exasperated by an atrocious persecution of a year's continuance, or more. In the following June, another plot, in which an obscure impostor, named Cleobury, acted as principal, occasioned some small degree of public excitement. In 1557, an adventurer of noble family, named Stafford, landed at Scarborough with a handful of foreigners, and seized the castle there. He was, however, quickly dislodged without having been able to find a single partizan in England. It is obvious that these contemptible movements offer no excuse for Mary's cruelties. If not provoked, they were at least encouraged by these cruelties. The truth is, that the government was highly unpopular, and there are very few persons who would venture to say, that it ever deserved to be otherwise. The people were extensively attached to the Reformation, and they believed, on her accession, as they had good reason from Mary's declaration to the magistrates of London, and probably from other circumstances apparently satisfactory, that liberty of conscience would not be violated. It was, however, immediately violated under various pretences; and the ministry never intermitted the employment of intrigue, corruption, and intimidation, until it had restored the papal authority, and revived the sanguinary laws against Lollardy. From that time even the best friends to Mary's memory are compelled to speak of her conduct with regret and disapprobation. It could not fail to disgust and exasperate contemporaries.

[k] Of these, the most important were published in 1558, the last year of Mary's life. Knox then put forth a hasty tract entitled, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous*

and thus the gibbet and the axe were associated with the pyre in violently removing individuals almost universally pitied as the innocent victims of a bigotted and vindictive tyranny[1]. Minor personal

Regiment (government) *of Women.* It was his intention to blow this trumpet thrice, but Mary died while he meditated future attacks upon her, and he was anxious to strengthen, rather than otherwise, the sceptre of her sister. Elizabeth, however, could not forgive this indiscriminate reprobation of female rule. A similar work was published at the same time by Goodman, an English ecclesiastic, residing, as Knox then was, at Geneva. These pieces, undoubtedly, somewhat altered Mary's situation. Hitherto her oppressed Protestant subjects had considered themselves bound by their religion to bear with meekness her inexcusable cruelties; but if individuals, whom they respected as teachers, were to arise, and argue that they would be justified in resisting the iniquitous policy which was straining every nerve to annihilate them, there could be no doubt that some of the desperate characters who calculated upon the co-operation of an outraged people, would at last find their appeals not wholly in vain. This alarming symptom of a disposition to repel infamous injustice by force, at length excited among the victims marked out for slaughter, did not accordingly fail to strike terror into the English government. That body, however, proceeded, as usual, with the most sanguinary intemperance. A royal proclamation, issued on the 6th of June, announced to the people that whosoever should, after that date, be found to have any books of late brought from abroad, "filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, or finding them, should not forthwith burn them, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, *he should be reputed and taken for a rebel, and should without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.*" Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 131.

[1] "Puisqu' elle se cognoist si negligée, et trouve si peu de certaineté aux promesses de son mary, et que pour luy asseurer sa demeure en ce lieu, il faille que par le feu, et le glaive, et en

inflictions too were frequent, especially the pillory, in this unhappy reign; and the popular disgust was the more exasperated amidst all these severities, by a general belief, that the Queen's policy was not of English growth, but was degradingly forced upon the nation by Spanish influence. At last the tide of public opinion set in against Mary's government with a force under which it would, probably, have fallen, had not death opportunely removed her from the trust which she so lamentably abused.

The term of its prorogation having expired, Parliament met on the 5th of November. Financial difficulties were immediately pressed upon its consideration, but such topics were received with more than usual impatience. Disaffection stalked over every corner of the kingdom, and the Queen's embarrassments were imputed to her extravagant and unpatriotic interference in Spanish politics, alien from the interests of England. As was to be expected from such a state of public feeling, the Commons evinced a disposition to withhold the desired

toute extremité de rigueur de justice, elle fasse mourir tant de personnes, dont son peuple faict une grande clameur, estans en opinion que ces paulvres miserables, qui sont mesnez en tant de divers supplices, meurent tous innocens." (Noailles, v. 370.) "Before her never was read in story of any king, or queen of England, since the time of King Lucius, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives were spilled within this realm, as under the said Queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter." Foxe, 1901.

supplies. On the 14th of November, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and other Lords of Parliament both spiritual and temporal, came down to the Lower House and endeavoured to reason it out of a subsidy. But the people's representatives were now fortified in their opposition to this demand, by a knowledge of the Queen's imminent danger, and accordingly, they came to no decision [m]. Mary, who had long been dropsical, was attacked in the course of the summer by a fever then extremely prevalent and fatal. Her recovery from the effects of this malady was rendered the more hopeless by dejection of spirits; the loss of Calais especially ever preying upon her mind. Death came to her relief, at St. James's, early in the morning of the 17th of November: she having attained the age of forty-three years and nine months, and having reigned five years and four months. When her body was opened, a great degree of internal disease was discovered; both the heart and the liver being much wasted, and the latter organ presenting an appearance so unnatural, that some of the more ignorant by-standers immediately attributed it to the destructive action of a vegetable poison [n].

Queen Mary was thin, and low of stature. Her mouth was large, and although she was short-sighted,

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 578.

[n] Ribadeneyra, 241. This author conversed with the physician who opened Mary, by whom, however, the notion that the diseased state of her liver was occasioned by poison was treated with contempt.

her eyes were animated. Her warmest admirers forbore to claim for her the praise of beauty, but they attributed this deficiency to ill usage undergone in her youth. Before her troubles, they said, she had been handsome. Her understanding being good, and having been well cultivated, she was pretty thoroughly mistress of Latin, and able to converse in both French and Spanish. Nor was she ignorant of Italian. Her father's love for music was a security against any neglect of her education in that point. She was, accordingly, a very respectable performer both upon the harpsichord and guitar. In disposition, she was bold and firm, even to obstinacy [o]. In religious observances she was most exact, never failing to hear mass once in every morning. Often, indeed, she heard it twice; and in the after part of the day, it was her invariable habit to attend vespers and the complin. On the principal festivals, she regularly received the Eucharist, dressing herself upon such occasion in her jewels, and in her most splendid attire. She seems, indeed, to have imbibed the most complete veneration for the consecrated wafers of Romanism; being upon her knees before such of them as were reserved in her own oratory, for a considerable portion of every day [p]. The last

[o] "Ceste Princesse, qui est si obstinée en son opinion, qu'il n'y a peril qui luy puisse faire changer de volonté; mais au contraire, tout cela la luy accroist avecques extresme oppiniastreté." Noailles, iii. 214.

[p] "Tuvo grandissima devocion y reverencia a todas las cosas sagradas, y particularmente al santo sacramento del altar: estava muchas horas en oracion prostrada delante de su divino acatamiento." Ribadeneyra, 237.

act of her life was the hearing of mass. She probably found herself going fast, and therefore desired, that, early as the hour was, a priest should come and receive the sacrament in her presence. She continued to gaze upon him until he had accomplished his task, and then closed her eyes to open them no more on this side of the grave. Mary's religious profession was not unproductive of its proper fruits. Her life was strictly moral, and she shewed a very commendable degree of feeling for the poor around her country residences; often visiting their abodes, dressed as a private gentlewoman, and enquiring their wants, in order to relieve them. In the despatch of public affairs, she was, as in every thing else, perfectly methodical, regularly devoting to it her afternoons [q]. Any time that she found upon her hands after having attended to the calls of devotion and business, she spent ordinarily in needlework; furniture for the altar, or other things connected with religious worship, being the general objects of her manual industry [r]. Mary's habits, in

[q] According to Pole, her Majesty enacted Mary in the morning, being entirely occupied in her devotions; in the afternoon she supported excellently the part of Martha, being engaged in business. "Sereniss. Regina antemeridianis horis Mariæ partes agit, in preces et divinas laudes prorsus incumbens; pomeridianas in rebus agendis consumit, et Marthæ personam egregie gerit." Polus Philippo, R. Sept. 16, 1555. Ep. v. 41.

[r] "Quando avia complido con sus devociones, o con negocios publicos del reyno, se ocupava en hazer lavor con sus manos, y hazia la extremada de buena y curiosa; y comunemente eran las cosas que hazia para el culto divino, y servicio del altar." Ribadeneyra, 237.

short, were those of a professed and sincere devotee. Hence, as an abbess she would have been admirable. But she was far too narrow-minded for the government of a kingdom, especially at the time, and under the circumstances in which she mounted the throne[s].

Within twenty-two hours of his royal kinswoman's demise[t], Cardinal Pole, who had been suffering for some time under a severe attack of intermitting fever, expired at Lambeth, being in the fifty-ninth year of his age. This remarkable person was of moderate stature, and slender make. His complexion was fair, the colour of his cheeks fresh, and an expression of good nature beamed from his eyes[u]. Had he lived at an ordinary time, or perhaps at the actual period of his appearance, had he been born in a condition of mediocrity, Pole would have probably passed through the world generally respected.

[s] Dr. Lingard mentions, as a proof of Mary's care for the political interests of her people, that she concluded a commercial treaty with Russia, and overthrew a monopoly injurious to England, long enjoyed by a company of foreigners, under the names of Easterlings, or merchants of the Steel-yard. Her services in these respects are unquestionable; but against them must be placed her impolitic expulsion of some settlements of industrious foreign Protestants, who were naturalising their manufactures in our island.

[t] Mary died between five and six o'clock in the morning of November 17, Pole at about three o'clock on the following morning. The Queen was buried in Westminster-abbey, in the north aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel, the Cardinal was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury.

[u] Parker, 532.

Being, however, unequal to a sound decision upon the delicate and important questions which arose abundantly around him, and in which, from accidental circumstances, he was called conspicuously to interfere, his posthumous reputation became at best equivocal. Nature, in truth, had denied him the firmness of temper, and vigour of intellect, which are indispensable in those who can honourably take the lead in very difficult times.

THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

DURING THE

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Queen Elizabeth—Her situation—Her council—Bishop White's funeral sermon—Conduct of the Pope—Religious movements—The Coronation—Meeting of Parliament—The royal supremacy—The High Commission Court—Conference at Westminster—Restoration of the English Liturgy—Other enactments—The Convocation—The non-juring prelacy—Reception of the English Liturgy—The royal visitation—Parker—Death of Bishop Tunstall—Consecration of Archbishop Parker—Legend of the Nag's Head Tavern—Re-organisation of the Hierarchy—Jewel's challenge—His apology—Harding's replies—Ecclesiastical regulations—Address to the Queen against images—Allowance of Latin offices—Publication of Foxe's Martyrology—Calvin's approval of the English Reformation—Papal overtures—Final assembling of the Trentine Council—The Convocation—Conclusion.

QUEEN MARY'S death was not publicly known for some hours after it had happened. Information of it got abroad by means of a communication made to the Lords, then assembled in parliament, by Arch-

bishop Heath, the Chancellor[a]; and the news at once drew from the House a full recognition of the Lady Elizabeth's title to the crown, under an act provided for that purpose in her father's reign. The Commons were now summoned, and acquainted, by Heath, with the recent royal demise; it being added, that of the Lady Elizabeth's right to the succession, there neither was nor could be any doubt. This view of the question being cordially entertained by the legislature's inferior branch, Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed without delay, first before the door of Westminster hall, and afterwards at Cheapside Cross, amidst a deafening burst of popular exultation. The new queen was then residing in a house attached to the see of Ely, at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and thither a deputation of the privy council proceeded with intelligence of her accession. She remained at Hatfield until the 23d of the month, when she removed, attended by a gay and joyous escort of more than a thousand persons, to London. At Highgate, all the surviving prelates met her, and she received them, Boner alone excepted, with graceful and obliging courtesy. To the blood-stained Bishop of London, she judiciously refused the honour of kissing her hand[b]. Apartments had been prepared for her reception at the Charter-house, on the northern extremity of London, then a mansion oc-

[a] Archbishop Heath received the great seal January 1, 1556. Harmer, 143.

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 584. Heylin, Hist. Ref. 274. Strype's Annals, Oxf. 1824, p. 14. Cambden's Elizabeth, ap Kennet, Hist. Engl. ii. 369.

cupied by the Lord North; and there she staid until the 28th, when she went, in grand procession, to the Tower. Nothing could exceed the popular joy during the first days of her reign. *Te Deum* was chanted in the London churches on the Sunday which immediately followed her accession, as if the country had just escaped from some signal calamity. Nor, indeed, did people generally view this change in the national affairs, without encouraging a confident expectation that the miseries and disgraces of recent years had reached at last the close of their ominous career.

Elizabeth had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than her ecclesiastical policy naturally became an object of anxious speculation. Birth and education marked her for a Protestant; but she had conformed during the greater part of Mary's reign to the established religion; having been overcome, we are told, by the persuasions and menaces of Cardinal Pole[c]. Such conformity was, undoubtedly, necessary for her safety, and therefore Mary, mindful, it is thought, of her own dissimulation, when endangered under King Henry, suspected the sincerity of her sister's conversion[d]. It is even said, that the dying queen made two requests to Elizabeth, one of them being that she would not overthrow Romanism[e]: a plain proof, if the relation be true,

[c] Cambden, 367.

[d] Ibid.

[e] The other of these alleged requests is that Elizabeth would faithfully repay the sums which Mary had borrowed, or more properly extorted from her subjects under privy seals. But the

that she considered the Princess's profession of her own religion, as merely simulated from a regard to

whole of this relation labours under important difficulties. The following is the form, in which it is exhibited by three of its principal disseminators. "Prudentissime fecit (Maria) ut instante mortis suæ hora, *certos principes viros* ad Elizabetham allegaret, qui tum alia quædam, tum in primis hæc duo ab ea peterent: alterum, ut mutuum quod a subditis suis Maria sub fide regia reddendum sumpserat, inque publicam rem converterat, Elizabetha reddendum curaret; alterum, ut Catholicam religionem in Anglia jam constitutam et stabilitam subverti aut labefactari ne permitteret. Elizabetha, quæ dum Maria regnabat, semper se Catholicam finxerat, ac ni vere ita esset ut tellus ipsi dehisceret, coram senatoribus aliquot aliquando optaverat, solita hypocrisi sua utrumque sanctissime promisit." (Sanders, 266.) "Embiole a la hora de su muerte a rogar dos cosas. La primera, que todo que ella havia tomado prestado de sus subditos, y se avia obligado a pagar debaxo de su palabra real, y gastado en beneficio publico, lo pagasse Ysabel enteramente. La segunda que procurasse de conservar la religion Catolica, que estava ya confirmada, y establecida en el reyno, y no permitiesse que se alterasse y mudasse. Oyò el recaudo de la hermana Ysabel, y prometio de hazer lo que se le mandava." (Ribadeneyra, 236.) "During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that Church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She was a true and conscientious believer in the Catholic creed; nor could she do more now, than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertions with her oath. To the Duke of Feria, who had come on a visit to the Queen from her husband, the Princess made the same declaration: and so convinced was that nobleman of her sincerity, that he not only removed the doubts of Mary, but

personal security. Philip, however, possessed considerable claims upon the new Queen's good opinion,

assured Philip that the succession of Elizabeth would cause no alteration in the worship now established by law." (Lingard, vii. 329.) The authority cited is "MS. life of the Duchess of Feria, 156." To this reference is added the following passage, which answers to the conclusion of Sanders's account. "She prayed God that the earth might open, and swallow her up alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic. Ibid. 129. See also Patenson's Image of the two Churches, 435." Thus Sanders informs us, that at the approach of death, Mary sent *certain persons of distinction* to make the two requests already mentioned, to Elizabeth, who at once assented; a compliance the less unexpected because, before some members of Parliament, she had already expressed a wish to be swallowed up alive, if she were not a Catholic. Ribadeneyra merely says that Mary sent a message to Elizabeth upon the subjects in question, and that Elizabeth gave the desired pledge. This account is, therefore, less explicit than that of Sanders; a circumstance the more suspicious, because Ribadeneyra was living in London, at the time of Mary's death, in the house of Don Gomez de Figueroa, then Count, and afterwards Duke of Feria, who had been sent by Philip upon an especial mission to the Queen, and who subsequently married Jane Dormer, one of her confidential attendants. This nobleman, therefore, possessed excellent opportunities of knowing the truth, and could scarcely have been ignorant of the names of any persons of distinction sent by Mary, with an important message to her sister, had in reality any such persons been sent. The omission of this article, therefore, in the relation of Feria's dependant, looks very much as if that writer had taken the story from Sanders, his general authority, judiciously suppressing a particular, which obviously called for greater distinctness from such hands as his. The Duchess of Feria herself, however, appears to be equally cautious or, in some respects, even more so. Her unpublished MS. might seem to make no mention of Mary's request arising from the extortion

and his influence could not fail to be exerted in behalf of his late consort's ecclesiastical system. Elizabeth had furnished a constant source of envy, vexation, and apprehension to her sister. She was highly popular throughout the country, and every political incendiary made abundant use of her name. Hence Mary's early dislike to her continually became more exasperated, and Elizabeth urgently needed for her protection both an unusual share of personal discretion, and the interference of powerful friends. In the quality first named she was never found deficient: nor happily, did she want a sufficient protector. It may be hoped, that her brother-in-law felt for the helpless situation of a young female, who could scarcely calculate upon security without his aid. Certainly, political considerations recommended Elizabeth to his vigilance, especially as soon as he lost all hope of issue from his own spouse. If the younger sister were removed, the Queen of Scots would have transferred, immediately upon Mary's death, the English sceptre to the royal

practised to maintain Philip's foreign policy, nor of the precise time in which the alleged message was sent, nor of the description of persons who conveyed it. But then, on the other hand, the Duchess appears to have learnt that Elizabeth *swore* that she was a Catholic, and stranger than all, that she prayed to be swallowed up alive, "if she were not a true *Roman* Catholic."

It is obvious that this account has no just claim to a place in authentic history. It wants a precision which, if it were true, it might easily have possessed. It is probable, that it took its rise merely from the idle rumours of the day; and presenting as it does, so little the character of verisimilitude, it has been properly passed over in silence by the bulk of English historians.

family of France, ever the principal obstacle to Austrian ambition. Philip was, therefore, bound as a politician, to provide for the safety of Elizabeth. Of this policy he never lost sight, and accordingly, the new Queen ascended the throne under great personal obligations to her brother-in-law. It had been proposed, while Mary reigned, to marry her abroad, and even to immure her in a Spanish convent [f]. But her Austrian friend would neither allow her inclinations to be forced, nor hear of any despotic expedients for depriving her of liberty. The friendly disposition towards the King of Spain which Elizabeth brought to the throne was carefully fostered by his agents at the outset of her reign. The Count of Feria was among the distinguished persons who lent splendour and importance to the joyous procession which accompanied her from the Charter-house to the Tower [g]. That nobleman soon afterwards made an offer of marriage to her, on his royal master's part, adding that the necessary dispensation could easily be obtained from Rome. Elizabeth hesitated to return an immediate refusal to this flattering proposal, and Philip, in consequence, plied her for some time, with letters and importunities [h], thus keeping alive in her breast not only his own interest, but also that of the Romish religion. Cardinal Pole, too, within four days of his death, endeavoured to make his own peace and

[f] Cabrera, 28.
[g] Ribadeneyra, 245.
[h] Cambden, 370.

that of his Church with her, sending to her his chaplain, Dr. Holland, the Dean of Worcester, with a respectful letter, and an injunction to furnish such verbal explanations as might be likely to remove any impressions unfavourable to his character and conduct[1].

There were, however, plain indications from the first, of Elizabeth's intention to resume the religion which she had compulsorily renounced. One of her earliest cares was necessarily the appointment of a council, and in this was displayed unequivocally her determination to depart from the policy of her sister's reign. Thirteen of Mary's counsellors she retained, and they were all of course considered firm Romanists. Most, or all of them, had indeed shewn before the late Queen's accession something of a disposition to make an amicable compact between religion and interest; a shrewd line of policy which had rather broken the continuity of their Romish orthodoxy; but then it was known, that few men could rise of late years without a sufficient degree of pliancy as to conscience; and it was justly considered, that Mary's advisers were now so thoroughly committed in the papal cause, that they could scarcely veer completely round any more. The thirteen distinguished persons, therefore, selected by

[1] "I do send to you at this present mine faithful chaplain, the Dean of Worcester: to whom it may please your Grace to give credit, in that he shall say unto you in my behalf. I doubt not but that your Grace shall remain satisfied thereby." Collier, Records, ii. 88.

the new Queen for advisers from her sister's council, might be fairly viewed as incapable of supporting the Reformation without a total sacrifice of character[k]. To them were added seven coadjutors, differently situated in this respect[l]. These new councillors had generally conformed, it is probable, to the established Church, under Queen Mary; but none of them stood committed by the measures of her reign; and it was notorious, that recent cases of conformity had frequently been nothing more than hollow expedients, adopted from a fear of the stake. Upon this principle was obviously to be explained the religious profession lately made by some individuals among the Queen's new advisers, and the introduction of such persons into the council-chamber, was an earnest of her purpose to make innovations in ecclesiastical affairs. Especially was this to be anticipated from the influence of Cecil. That eminent statesman had been in the confidence of Elizabeth during the time of her adversity, and he was known

[k] The old councillors were Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Edward, Lord Clinton, William, Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. Cambden, 369.

[l] *Viz.* William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knollis, and William Cecil. To these was added, soon after, Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was also of Protestant principles. Ibid.

to possess talents for business of the highest order. He could hardly, therefore, fail of acquiring a decided ascendancy over his brother-councillors. Cecil, however, though a conformist in the late reign, was generally suspected of a rooted partiality towards the Reformation. That such a feeling would soon guide the council's deliberations, was expected accordingly within a few days of Elizabeth's accession. Hence Sir Ambrose Jermin, a magistrate in Suffolk, while the Queen remained at the Charter-house, ventured to stop, upon his own responsibility, the persecution which was proceeding in his neighbourhood under authority from the late government. A letter of approval was immediately forwarded to this humane gentleman, and he was desired to concert measures with other justices of the peace around him for terminating without delay the inquisitorial processes which harassed his part of the country[m]. Within a few days after the transmission of this merciful communication various prisoners confined in London as offenders against religion were discharged upon their own recognizances[n]; and thus the cessation of her sister's inhuman persecution was among the first acts of Elizabeth's domestic policy.

Such a change of measures, however creditable to the royal feelings and sagacity, could not fail of

[m] Strype's Annals, i. 36.

[n] Ibid. 55. December 7 and 12. Some prisoners also obtained their liberty at Maidstone, on these terms, on the 4th of January. Certain individuals, confined at Colchester, refused for a time to enter into any recognizances, as being conscious of having committed no offence.

alarming and offending the more headlong and ill-natured admirers of the late Queen's administration. Her funeral gave occasion to the first conspicuous display of angry disappointment on the part of those who were deploring that their hour of fanatical revenge had passed away. White, Bishop of Winchester, the prelate who had obtained that splendid preferment under a simoniacal contract in favour of Pole, was appointed to preach at Mary's obsequies [o]. He produced a discourse utterly contemptible as to style and matter, but studiously prepared with a view to inflame the worst passions of his congregation. It was better, he said, never to have been born, than to be, like Judas, a traitor to one's Maker. "To be born in Christ's Church, and not to abide therein; to promise, and not to perform; to promise penance here, and not to practise; to hear the truth, and not to believe; to be daily taught, and never to learn; ever to be warned, and never to beware; this is horrible, execrable, cursed, and damnable." Lest any of the hearers should apply these words generally, the following explanation of them was quickly supplied: "I was regenerate, and by a solemn vow became a member of Christ's Catholic Church, and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and I am become a member of the new Church of Geneva, or did after lapse to actual and deadly sin; reformed by penance, I am now relapsed again to sin, and dwell stubbornly therein. Mark my end, right honourable, and what shall become of me. I

[o] December 13.

shall in the end be damned everlastingly." Again, the preacher says, "I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and hath sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people." As if to hint, that rulers who permit the ingress of these exiles are to be resisted by force, the sermon presents us with the relation of Trajan's address to one of his chief officers, when he delivered to him the sword of justice, *If my commands are just, use this sword for me; if unjust, against me*[p]. It was reasonably thought that such inflammatory matter was likely to have a mischievous effect, especially at a time when the government was bent upon a line of policy which, though just and conciliatory, was opposed to this zealot's intolerance. Bishop White, accordingly, in token of her Majesty's displeasure at his sermon, received an order to keep his house: a mild restraint from which, after a reprimand, he was excused at the end of little more than a month[q].

News from Rome soon augmented the uneasiness of English Romanists. In that capital Mary's death was known on the 22d of December[r]. Elizabeth's intentions were conciliatory; and therefore, although determined upon abandoning her sister's ecclesiastical system, she was anxious to effect this change in a manner as little offensive as possible to the Pope and his adherents in England. Instructions, accord-

[p] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Append. iii. 542.

[q] January 19.

[r] Pallavicino, ii. 122.

ingly, were sent to Sir Edward Carne, Mary's ambassador at Rome, that he should formally announce to his Holiness the new Queen's accession. Carne also received from home, and most probably at the same time, an order to refrain from exerting his influence in the prosecution of an appeal made to the Pontiff from two private English litigants[s]. This order was undoubtedly calculated to mortify the papal court, but it probably was not publicly known; and besides, it merely raised such a difficulty as Roman negociation had often overcome. The aged Pope's inveterate antipathies and political schemes interposed, however, at once a formidable obstacle to concord between himself and the new sovereign. As a counterbalance to Philip's hold upon Elizabeth's affections, Henry of France had caused his daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scots, to claim the throne of England. Mary, accordingly, now laid the foundation of that rancorous enmity, which eventually brought her to the scaffold, by a public assumption of the English arms, as heir to Henry VII. Elizabeth being pronounced illegitimate, and hence incapable of inheriting. Not contented with awakening irritation and suspicion beyond the Channel by this offensive measure, Henry desired his agents at Rome to enlist the Pontiff on his side[t]. Any suggestions likely to mortify the pride, and cross the policy of

[s] This was a matrimonial cause pending between two persons named Chetwood and Tyrrell. Carne was recalled on the 1st of January. Strype's Annals, i. 51.

[t] "Il Rè Arrigo l' havea prevenuto a favor della nuora." Pallavicino, ii. 123.

Austria, were music in the ears of Paul [u]. He readily, therefore, committed himself as Henry wished. When Carne announced to him the accession of Elizabeth, and her determination that no man should suffer violence on account of his religion, the Pope replied, "I cannot approve this change in your government, made, as it is, without authority from the Apostolical see, in favour of one illegitimately born; nevertheless, if the cause be referred to me, I shall decide upon it in the most favourable manner possible [x]." This insolent and jesuitical reply was treated by the English government as it deserved. Carne had not received, together with his first instructions, any powers to act as ambassador from his new sovereign. An intimation was now forwarded to him from the council, that he had better return home. He chose, however, to remain in Rome, and there he died about two years afterwards [y].

As the Queen evidently from her choice of a council, and her especial confidence in Cecil had ascended the throne with a full intention to repair the Refor-

[u] "Segnalatamente abborriva la nazione Spagnuola, e la casa d' Austria." Ibid. 128.

[x] "Elisabeta fè consacrarsi da un vescovo Catolico, e intento a spianare gli ostacoli da ogni lato, scrisse all' ambasciadore della morta sorella in Roma, che desse conto della sua assunzione al Papa, con significargli insieme, che à niuno sarebbesi fatta violenza per causa di religione. Il Pontefice rispose alto, e negò di poter approvar la surrogazione d' Elisabeta, come d' illegitima, e come fatta senza l' autorità della Sedia Apostolica: nondimeno, che quando avessero a lui commesso l' arbitrio della causa, le harebbe usata qualunque grazia possibile." Ibid.

[y] Strype's Annals. i. 51.

mation's fallen fortunes, it was early deliberated among those whom she valued most in what manner this purpose could be best accomplished. A scheme for effecting the end in view was drawn up by some unknown individual *, about the beginning of December, and submitted to the consideration of Cecil. This paper suggests, that an alteration in ecclesiastical affairs should be proposed to the next Parliament; that persons advanced to places of trust under Queen Mary, having all shewn themselves zealous Papists, should be deprived of their actual authority, and if they be found to have incurred any legal liability, that they should be kept under the lash of the law until reduced to submission; that those who had adhered to the Queen during her adversity, and generally persons well affected towards Protestant principles, should be promoted and encouraged; that the bishops and others of the spirituality should be overawed by means of the statute of *præmunire*, pecuniary compositions being exacted from some of them for the relief of the crown's necessities, a species of punishment which, it is represented, the late queen's liberality to them, and their own recent rapacity, would well enable them to bear; that, according to precedents in the late reign, the present rural magistracy be generally replaced by other men of discretion, though

* "I suspect it to have been either John Hales, a man of a politic and working head, and a zealous Protestant, and clerk of the hanaper to this Queen, as he had been to King Edward VI. or Sir Thomas Smyth, a very wise man, and secretary of state to King Edward: and I am rather inclined to think it the latter." Strype's Annals, i. 74.

somewhat junior and less wealthy[a]; that a law be made against unauthorised assemblies; that persons desirous of an alteration, beyond that which may be resolved upon, be deterred from their opposition by a few examples made at first; that the universities be visited, and that a committee of divines[b] meet at the house of Sir Thomas Smyth, for the purpose of preparing a book for the approbation of Parliament. Upon this last suggestion it was determined to act, and accordingly, preparations were made at Sir Thomas Smyth's town residence, in Cannon-row, for the accommodation of the parties named. The knight himself appears to have been intended for president of the board. The whole design, however,

[a] "The third is to be amended even as all the rest above, *by such means as Queen Mary taught*, that none such, as near as may be, be in commission of peace in the shires, but rather men meaner in substance, and younger in years; so that they have discretion to be put in place." The reason of this is to be found in a former article. "And no man but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish. And when he can, and as he can, those ancient laws and orders he will maintain and defend with whom, and in whom he was in estimation, authority, and a doer. For every one naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature." Strype's Annals, Append. i. 395, 396.

[b] The divines proposed were Dr. Bill, the Queen's almoner, Master of Trinity-college, in Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Westminster; Dr. Parker, late Dean of Lincoln, and soon afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. May, late Dean of St. Paul's, and soon afterwards elect of York; Dr. Cox, late Dean of Westminster, and Christchurch, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Dr. Pilkington, late Master of St. John's college, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Durham; Mr. Grindal, late chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and soon afterwards Bishop of London; and Mr. Whitehead, a grave and elderly divine, highly esteemed by Archbishop Cranmer. Strype's Smyth, Oxf. 1820, p. 56.

it was proposed to keep secret for a time from the body of the council; no persons of quality being made privy to it excepting the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the Lord John Grey [c].

The secresy and caution with which the government proceeded, kept both Romanists and Reformers in a state of feverish excitement. Many Protestant ecclesiastics, who had remained at home, and exercised their ministry privately, now came forward, and openly preached again. The exiles were intensely interested in the news of Mary's death, and they prepared immediately to revisit their native England. Some of them very soon arrived, and naturally began once more to instruct their countrymen. The Reformers generally were in high spirits, and impatient for the destruction of a system which they considered as founded in falsehood and error, and as maintained by idolatry. This last character of popery stimulated violently the forward zeal of many persons professing a more scriptural faith, and they hastened to pull down images, together with other incentives to popular superstition, insidiously placed in the churches. All this activity on the part of their adversaries necessarily filled the Romanists with disgust and disquiet. Their more influential men, accordingly, strained every nerve to stem the torrent of opposition. The pulpits every where echoed with the din of controversy, and the two parties, which had for thirty years agitated

[c] Strype's Annals, Append. i. 392. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 450. Cambden. 371.

England, again prepared for uncompromising collision. Elizabeth's confidential advisers looked upon this picture of public irritation with uneasiness, and accordingly, they recommended that silence should be indiscriminately imposed upon the pulpit; a measure sanctioned by precedents in recent reigns. A proclamation, issued on the 27th of December, announced this exercise of the prerogative. It strictly forbade all preaching and teaching, both by clergymen and others; likewise all innovations, for the present, upon the established form of public worship, beyond the reading in English of the Epistle, Gospel, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Litany. These portions of the service, it seems, had already assumed a vernacular dress in the royal chapel, and they were thus heard in the London churches generally on the new year's day. To this royal proclamation obedience was paid but imperfectly, neither party being disposed to keep silence. The Romanists, however, being sufficiently convinced that they had most to apprehend from the Queen's meditated purposes, appear to have transgressed her orders more frequently and offensively than their opponents. Innovation had been forbidden only until its manner and measure could be decided in parliament. Such, therefore, as deprecated it altogether, felt extreme difficulty in refraining from endeavours to enlist the popular passions on their side. There were, accordingly, Romish ecclesiastics, who not only persisted in preaching, but who also used the pulpit for the dissemination of libellous and treasonable matter. Among such unhappy zealots,

a few were necessarily punished as a terror to others [d].

The prelates naturally were among the most anxious observers of Elizabeth's measures, and it might seem from the unanimity which they soon displayed, that they consulted among themselves upon the best mode of encountering difficulties evidently about to press upon them. The episcopacy of England comprised, at this time, only sixteen individuals: several of that order having been removed by death within a short time, either before or after Mary's demise. Of the survivors, Heath, Archbishop of York, had gone with the members of his profession generally in renouncing the Pope, and in approving various ecclesiastical reforms under King Henry; but he had refused to concur in all the changes of Edward's reign, and he had, accordingly, then lost his preferment. Boner, of London, and Tunstall, of Durham, were circumstanced in the same manner. Thirlby, of Ely, and Kitchen, of Llandaff, the two remaining bishops of Henry's appointment, had hitherto complied upon every occasion; but the former might possibly be considered, of late, as irretrievably committed on the papal side, inasmuch as he had gone ambassador to Rome, and had been employed to degrade Archbishop Cranmer. All the other prelates owed their ad-

[d] Strype's Annals, i. 59, *et sequ.* Append. 391.

[e] *Viz.* White, of Winchester; Turberville, of Exeter; Bayne, of Lichfield and Coventry; Watson, of Lincoln; Pole, of Peterborough; Pates, of Worcester; Oglethorpe, of Carlisle; Scot, of Chester; Bourn, of Bath and Wells; Goldwell, of St. Asaph;

vancement to Queen Mary, by whom, undoubtedly, they never would have been selected for elevated posts in the Church, had not their adherence to popery been sufficiently established. A body of distinguished public functionaries, thus pledged to a particular system, could not watch indications of its overthrow without feeling great uneasiness. Their dissatisfaction is thought to have first conspicuously shewn itself at the coronation [f], when the honour of placing the crown upon his sovereign's head fell to Bishop Oglethorpe, of Carlisle. An undue degree of importance has, however, been attached, probably, to that circumstance. Archbishop Heath had resigned the seals towards the end of December, either, as it must be supposed, from some disgust that he had taken, or from finding his continuance in office unpalatable to the Queen. He could scarcely, therefore, fail to labour under a degree of irritation which would render his services at the coronation, within a few days afterwards, agreeable neither to the sovereign nor to himself. Bishop Boner was universally odious, and had been slighted in a very marked manner by the Queen. Bishop Tunstall had wholly passed the age for occupying the first place in any fatiguing ceremony. Bishop White, of

and Morgan, of St. David's. Of these prelates, Richard Pates had long borne the title of Bishop of Worcester, having attended, under that designation, the council of Trent, in its first stage. At length, on Mary's accession, he returned from his long exile, and really obtained that see to which, under papal authority, he had so long advanced an empty pretension. Goldwell had been chaplain to Cardinal Pole.

[f] January 15.

Winchester, was under restraint on account of his sermon at the late Queen's funeral. No other prelate could challenge precedence in right of his see, and for aught that appears, the Bishop of Carlisle was as properly selected for the office of crowning Elizabeth as any one of the less distinguished occupants of his bench [g]. The ceremony was conducted

[g] "As for that some write, *it was because they* (the bishops) *had evident probabilities, she* (the Queen) *intended either not to take or not to keep, the oath was then to be administered to her, especially in the particular of not maintaining holy Church's laws, in respect she had shewed an averseness to some ceremonies, as commanding the Bishop of Carlisle not to elevate the consecrated host, who stoutly refused her, and out of fear she would refuse in the time of her sacre the solemn divine ceremony of unction:* these are certainly without any colour, and framed since. For as for the last, the ceremony of anointing, she had it performed; as had King James, who succeeded her, who would not have his queen crowned in Scotland without it. For the other it is altogether improbable, that he, to whom the command was by her given, would of all the rest have assented to crown her, had he conceived that a cause why it might have been denied: neither, indeed, did she alter any thing material in the service of the Church, till after the conference at Westminster, 1559, the 31st March, and the Parliament ended." (Twisden's Historical Vindication, 127.) The passage in Italics is extracted from Cardinal Allen's Answer to Lord Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, p. 51. The same authority is cited by Dr. Lingard, (viii 349) for a statement that Bp. Oglethorpe disobeyed an order to elevate the consecrated wafer; but we are told, that it was in the royal chapel; of course previously to the coronation. This is also to be inferred from Sanders, who says, (272) that an order given "to a certain bishop, *episcopo cuidam*," to omit the elevation was disobeyed, and that Heath, in consequence, as well from other indications of Elizabeth's insincerity, refused to crown her. Ribadeneyra does little else, as to these matters, than translate

in the manner prescribed by the Roman pontifical: hence no Romanist, as such, had any cause to absent himself from it. All the bishops, accordingly, who were at large, appear to have attended it[h]. The

Sanders. Now the foreign Jesuit certainly possessed good means of information, for he was in London, living with the Spanish ambassador, at the time assigned to this prohibition of the elevation, and his omission therefore of the bishop's name is injurious to the credit of the story. Cambden, however, (371) has adopted it, but he has not varied from Sanders. Thus the whole account appears traceable to some common origin, and that one which will not bear a close examination. It probably arose from a dislike to the mass, which really does appear to have been expressed by Elizabeth, or by some of those who were in her confidence; for in *the Device for altering Religion*, already mentioned, one article recommends that mass should be said before the Queen with less frequency than heretofore, for the sake of her Highness's "own conscience." (Strype's Annals, Append. i. 397.) But that so cautious a sovereign as Elizabeth ordered the discontinuance of any ceremony legally established, is utterly improbable, and more so still, that the very bishop who crowned her should have received the order for such discontinuance.

As for the oath taken by Elizabeth at her coronation, it could occasion no doubt to the bishops as to the propriety of their attendance upon that occasion, unless such oath were an engagement of submission to the Pope, on the sovereign's part. But no such thing is prescribed in the Roman pontifical, (f. 86.) Nor does Mr. Butler (Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, 229) make it appear that any such oath was required of Elizabeth: he says, that she swore "to maintain the laws, honour, peace, and privileges of the Church, as in the time of King Edward the Confessor." The best proof of Elizabeth's intention to observe such an oath as this, is the fact that she *did* observe it. Dr. Lingard merely says, that she "was compelled to take the accustomed oath, and to conform to all the rites of the Catholic pontifical." 351.

[h] "On the 15th day she was crowned with the usual ceremo-

Spanish ambassador, indeed, refused to grace it with his presence[1]; but this denial could scarcely have flowed from an apprehension that his religious prejudices were likely to receive any shock upon this occasion. Elizabeth anxiously sought to abstain

nies at Westminster abbey. She first came to Westminster-hall. There went before her trumpets, knights, and lords, heralds of arms in their rich coats; then the nobles in their scarlet, *and all the bishops in scarlet;* then the Queen and all the footmen waiting upon her to the hall. There her Grace's apparel was changed. In the hall they met the bishop that was to perform the ceremony, and all the chapel, with three crosses borne before them, in their copes, the bishops mitred; and singing as they passed *Salve festa dies.*" (Strype's Annals, i. 44.) Cambden, however, says, "the Archbishop of York, and some others, refusing to assist at the ceremony." (371.) But it is to be recollected, that the great English antiquary was a child when Elizabeth was crowned, and that he published his history of her reign long after the works of Allen and Sanders had appeared. Nor, besides, does he plainly assert that the bishops were absent from the coronation, but only that they refused to officiate.

[1] Ribadeneyra, 245. The reason of Feria's absence is stated to be the result of an enquiry made by him as to the ceremonies of the day. He demanded, we are told, whether all things were to be done according to the usage of the Roman Church upon such occasions; and finding that some alteration was intended, he refused to be present. But this is obviously a mere surmise of the writer's, suggested by books published after the event; there was no such alteration, and there is no probability that any such was ever intended. The Count was therefore absent, it is probable, from political considerations alone. He had seen, we may reasonably suppose, by this time, that there was very little chance of a marriage between Elizabeth and his master; and he might, therefore, think it politic to shew signs of displeasure, in order to awaken the Queen's uneasiness at the prospect of being left to struggle with domestic difficulties, unaided by Spain.

from giving offence to either of the religious parties which divided the country. On the day before her coronation, in passing amidst an imposing display of royal parade, and the warmest greetings of popular enthusiasm from the Tower to Westminster, an allegorical personage, acting a part in a pageant at the end of Cheapside, offered to her an English Bible, splendidly bound. She received the volume with that winning air of courtesy and good-nature, which ever distinguished her public appearances; saying at the same time, "I thank you heartily for your present; I shall often read this book[k]." Nevertheless she would not hastily pledge herself to permit the circulation of Scripture, in English. On the morning after her coronation, one of the courtiers jocularly said: "As this is a time when your Grace is releasing prisoners, I hope that you will not forget Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, and some others, who have been of late straitly locked up within this realm." Elizabeth gravely replied: "Before they are released, it will be better to enquire of themselves whether or no they would wish it[l]."

Preparations for a new parliament were made, according to the bad precedents of recent reigns, by ministerial interference with the rights of electors. By this means, and by the creation of five new peers

[k] Strype's Annals, i. 43.

[l] Bacon's Apophthegms, cited by Miss Aikin. Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, Lond. 1818. i. 254. Heylin says that the gentleman who made this jocular application to Elizabeth was named Rainsford. Hist. Ref. 275.

attached to the Reformation[m], a party was secured in both houses disposed to conciliatory and constitutional courses in matters of religion. The legislators were summoned for the 23d of January, but the Queen's indisposition caused their meeting to be deferred until the 25th. Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been appointed Lord Keeper on Archbishop Heath's resignation of the seals, opened the business of the session in a long address. A principal object with her Majesty, he said, in assembling her parliamentary councillors, was to place religious questions upon a satisfactory footing; and he assured his auditors, that she desired them, abstaining from irritating language and intemperance of every kind, conscientiously and coolly to consult upon such ecclesiastical arrangements, as were likely to prove of lasting utility. The first bill offered to the upper house[n], was for restoring to the crown the first fruits and tenths of spiritual promotions, which had been surrendered to the Church by Queen Mary. The "huge, innumerable, and inestimable charges," pressing upon her Majesty were alleged as her reasons for desiring this resumption, which was cor-

[m] *Viz.* William Parr, restored to the marquessate of Northampton, which he had lost by attainder as a partizan of the Lady Jane Grey; Edward Seymour, son of the Protector, created Earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, son to Thomas, the late Duke of Norfolk, created Viscount Howard, of Bindon; Henry Cary, the Queen's cousin-german, as being son to Mary Boleyn, created Baron Hunsdon; and Oliver St. John, created Baron St. John, of Bletso. Cambden, 371.

[n] January 30. Strype's Annals, i. 83.

dially approved by the lay lords, who voted for it without a single dissentient voice. It was opposed, however, by eight prelates, being all of their order in the house *. After a considerable interval, it was

* *Viz.* Heath, Boner, Pates, Kitchen, Bayne, Turberville, Scot, and Oglethorpe. (Ibid.) Queen Mary gave up the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical benefices to the disposal of Cardinal Pole, who was to expend such sums in the augmentation of small livings, and upon other objects beneficial to the Church, at his discretion. At his death many of these payments were in arrear; a fact which drew a circular from the Queen in council, addressed to the several bishops, enjoining them to take measures for the immediate transmission of such sums, due from their respective dioceses, either to Pole's executors, or to receivers who might subsequently be appointed by the Archbishop of York, and the rest of her Majesty's council. This very handsome order appears to have caused the payment of various arrears to the Cardinal's executors, by which the memory of their deceased patron suffered rather severely. What Pole left behind him, he chiefly bequeathed among his Italian friends, saying, not unreasonably, that as their country had solely supported him during a large portion of his life, it was entitled to such accumulation of property as his own compatriots might at length enable him to make. That this property should have received any degree of augmentation from an impost reluctantly and distressingly paid by an impoverished clergy, was much to be regretted; as it gave those who disapproved the Cardinal's principles an opportunity of representing that after returning home in poverty, he had amassed, by no reputable means, within a very short time, a considerable fortune for his foreign sycophants. Such, accordingly, appears from the following extracts, to have been the light in which his conduct was placed, even by contemporaries of respectability. "Ex quibus quidem primitiis atque decimis cum longe maximus uberrimusque proventus quotannis Polo invectus esset; detrahi sane illis modicis monachorum fratrumque stipendiis haud ita multum possit, quin ingens inde ei thesaurus superes-

returned passed from the Commons[p]; but the delay seems not to have arisen from any indisposition to the measure among the people's representatives[q]. This act restored to the crown not only the first fruits and tenths, but also the impropriate parsonages which Queen Mary had surrendered[r]. The second bill introduced had for its object the recognition of Elizabeth's title to the throne, upon the grounds of common and statute law, and hereditary succession. To this the bishops agreed, as well as their laical coadjutors[s]. Two other acts provided against treasonable and seditious attacks upon the Queen. By another, which passed unanimously, her Majesty's legitimacy was indirectly asserted. She was hence-

set. Hinc ei a patrio more consuetudineque degenerato et abhorrenti, frequentiores cum Italis atque peregrinis mercatoribus, quam cum Anglis contractus intercesserunt: quibus corrasas patriæ pecunias sub usuris turpique fœnore credidisse fertur. Cui rei argumento est, quod Roma venit in Angliam inops, scripsitque Papæ se egere ad tantam dignitatem sustinendam facultatibus; moriens autem, ut dicemus, omissis in Anglia neglectisque suis necessariis, Italos mirum in modum locupletavit." (Parker, 528.). "Longe aliter de his primitiis decimisque percipiendis quam Regina dixerat, sensit Polus, nec eas clero relaxandas, sed a fisco regio in suum ærarium traducendas censuit. Retinuit ille vir cautus, et arte pontificia instructus decimas et primitias duobus amplius annis, ac perpaucis solutis pensionibus quæstum ingentem conflavit." De Visibili Monarchia, contra Nic. Sanderi Monarchiam προλεγομενα libri duo. Georgio Acwortho, legum doctore, authore. Lond. 1573, pp. 127, 128.

[p] March 22. Strype's Annals, i. 85.

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 508.

[r] Ibid. 509.

[s] Strype's Annals, i. 83.

forth "enabled in blood, and inheritable, according to the due order and course of the common law of the realm, to the late Queen Anne, her mother, and to all other of her ancestors and cousins of the part of the said mother[t]." There were those who thought that Elizabeth ought rather to have imitated her sister's example, in obtaining the repeal of those enactments which declared her mother's marriage null, and her own birth illegitimate. But the course actually taken was that which comported best with the temperate and cautious character of her counsels. By being pronounced inheritable from her unfortunate mother, according to common law, the Queen was, in effect, legally relieved from the stigma of a spurious origin. At the same time, by resting contented with such a measure of relief, she evaded the necessity of provoking discussions injurious to the memory of her father.

On the 9th of February, the royal supremacy was debated in the House of Commons. It appears to have been originally intended to do little or nothing more in this matter than revive the statutes enacted under King Henry for protecting the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives[u]. But these enactments were unnecessarily severe, and besides they pronounced the sovereign Supreme Head of the Church; a title deemed objectionable not only by many of her subjects, but also by the Queen herself[x]; inasmuch as

[t] Strype's Annals, Append. 398.

[u] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 377. 431.

[x] This scruple appears to have been infused into Elizabeth's

it was thought that the bearer of it assumed thereby something of the priestly character. The bill, accordingly, was lost, on the 13th of February, after much debating. On the following day, a committee was appointed to draw a new bill, and this object having been attained to the satisfaction of the Commons, the measure passed their House. When, however, it reached the Lords, it was judged to require amendment, and therefore submitted to a committee consisting of the Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Norfolk; the Earls of Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Rutland, Sussex, and Pembroke; the Viscount Montague; the Bishops Turberville, of Exeter, and Oglethorpe of Carlisle; and the Barons Clinton, Morley, Rich, Willoughby, and North. These distinguished persons were generally notorious for their adherence to Romish opinions. Yet they made very little difficulty in preparing for the House an amended bill declaratory of the royal supremacy. Nor did the temporal peers, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Viscount Montague alone excepted, vote against this bill when it came before the House. The prelacy[y], however, was unanimous in its opposition, and two of that body delivered speeches, yet extant, against it. Of these, one was spoken by Archbishop Heath,

mind by Lever, a reformed clergyman of high reputation. Dr. Sandys to Dr. Parker: dated April *ult.* 1559. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 456.

[y] The dissenting prelates were Heath, Boner, White, Pates, Kitchen, Bayne, Turberville, Scot, Oglethorpe, and Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster. Strype's Annals, i, 84.

but it is very ill calculated to impress the speaker's views upon any assembly competently informed. The Archbishop admits, that it would be of no great importance to withdraw obedience from the reigning Pope, inasmuch as that pontiff had been "an austere, stern father to England ever since his first entrance into Peter's chair;" but he maintains, that by forsaking the see of Rome, his countrymen would relinquish all general councils, all the laws of Christ's Church, all the judgments of Christian princes, and the unity of Christ's Church. The last of these alleged evils he ridiculously represents as "a leaping out of Peter's ship, whereby we should hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions." Nor is he much happier in any of his points, the whole argument merely resting upon misrepresentations easily refuted, puerile sophisms, assertions that preachers from Rome have in all ages inculcated the same doctrines, and appeals to the darkest portions of history*. The other speech remaining against the royal supremacy came from Scot, Bishop of Chester, and it maintains, that as there is a gradation of authority in temporals from constables to kings, so must there be one in spirituals from curates to popes. The speaker then, confounding as usual an ecclesiastical establishment with a system of religious opinions, argues that those who represent the supremacy as an integral member of the sovereignty, must either admit the existence of Christ's Church with an infi-

* Strype's Annals, Append. i. 399.

del head, or her total want of a head until the conversion of Constantine. That religious unity cannot consist in the mere holding of a scriptural faith is inferred from the statement, that there existed thirty-four sects, all differing both from each other, and from the Catholic Church, yet all, notwithstanding, constantly laying claim to such faith. These principles are enforced by an examination of various cases in which they have been denied; and the speaker endeavours to make it appear, that impugners of the papal supremacy have either penitently retracted that opinion, or have been reduced to extreme misery. The opinion itself, he says, was imported into England from Germany, and in that country it is traceable to Luther, who learned it, according to his own account, from the devil[s]. To the temporal peers, however, these arguments, or rather representations, were addressed in vain. The bill, indeed, underwent various alterations, and received several additions, both in the Upper House, and in the Lower, before it finally passed: a consummation which was delayed until Saturday, the 6th of May, two days only before the Parliament was dissolved. At that time Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, was the only laical opponent of the measure; and his opposition appears mainly to have arisen from personal considerations. He had been one of the ambassadors despatched to Rome, on the reconciliation of England to the Papacy, and he now maintained that it would be neither honour-

[s] Strype's Annals, Append. i. 422.

able nor politic suddenly to break asunder a connexion so happily renewed [b].

This important act was introduced to the nation as no measure of recent origin, but merely as a declaration of the ancient law of England. It is entitled, accordingly, *An act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, &c* [c]. Before the reign of King Henry VIII. this jurisdiction, though demonstrably coeval with the monarchy, had become known but imperfectly, even to the generality of men in the better-informed circles. Habits of deference for the Roman bishop, originating in respect for the most dignified see and the most learned theologians of western Europe [d], had gradually unfolded the papal

[b] Twisden's Hist. Vind. 129. Cambden, 372. Strype's Annals, i. 84.

[c] England's Independency upon the Papal Power historically and judicially stated, by Sir John Davis, Attorney General in Ireland, and by Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice in England: with a preface by Sir John Pettus, knight. Lond. 1674, p. 45.

[d] "As of late times, when certain divines at Frankford, 1554, differed about the Common Prayer used in England, Knox and Whittingham appealed to Calvin for his opinion; and receiving his 200 epistle, *it so wrought in the hearts of many, that they were not so stout to maintain all the parts of the book as they were then against it.* And Dr. Cox, and some other *who stood* for the use of the said book, wrote unto him *excusing themselves that they put order in their Church without his counsel asked.* Which honour they shewed him not as esteeming him *to have any authority of office* over them, *but in respect of his learning and merits.* As these, therefore, carried so much honour, and yielded great obedience to Calvin, and the Church of Geneva,

claims to an authority over Christendom. Too commonly these pretensions were abetted by the secular clergy, either from conscientious or from interested motives. The regulars naturally bent all their energies to exalt the papacy. There could be no doubt that its advancement was identified with their own. Thus all the West became in time overspread with a vast mass of shrewd intelligence, ever upon the watch to mislead the public mind as to the real character of the Roman see. Meanwhile, the different national legislatures did not always slumber, but asserted, at intervals, their superiority to this foreign authority. The records of English jurisprudence are abundantly fruitful in attestations of a jealousy so manifestly patriotic. A series of canons, statutes, and other evidences, establishing the crown's ecclesiastical supremacy, descends unin-

by them then held the purest reformed church in Christendom: so it cannot be denied but our ancestors, the Saxons, attributed no less to the Pope and the Church of Rome, who yet never invaded the rights of this, as contrary to the council of Ephesus and the canons of the Church of England; but left the government of it to the English prelates, yet giving his best advice and assistance for increasing devotion, and maintenance of the law ecclesiastical among them, in which each side placed the superiority. From whence it proceeded, that however the Pope was sought to from hence, he rarely sent hither any legate. In the council of Calcuith, held about 180 years after Augustine, it is observed, *a tempore Sancti Augustini, Pontificis sacerdos Romanus nullus in Britanniam missus est, nisi nos.* And Eadmerus, that it was *inauditum in Britannia, quemlibet hominum super se vices Apostolicas gerere, nisi solum Archiepiscopum Cantuariæ.*" Twisden, 10.

terruptedly downwards from the Heptarchy to the Reformation [e]. It is not uncommonly supposed, that

[e] The earliest appeal from England to Rome upon record, is that of the turbulent, vain, and innovating Wilfrid, Bishop of York, about the year 680. The Saxons, however, refused to abide by the papal judgment in this case. The English princes, indeed, of that ancient race exerted, upon all proper occasions, that ecclesiastical character which they expressly claimed. They regulated the administration of baptism, and of the Eucharist, defined impediments to matrimony, dispensed with the vows of nuns, divided old, and erected new bishoprics, and in fine exercised all those prerogatives, with the concurrence of national authorities alone, which are said by papal partisans to need the Pope's especial cognizance. The Conqueror, though he undertook his enterprise under the pontiff's sanction, and though he used that dignitary's services in dispossessing the Anglo-Saxon clergy, yet was careful to have these deprivations conducted under his own eye and authority, thus evidently shewing that he merely meant to make a parade of taking the Roman bishop's advice, but that he had no thought of admitting his right of interference in English affairs. In fact, when the celebrated Hildebrand, presuming upon the services rendered by his see in the subjugation of England, ventured to require an oath of fidelity from William, the proposal was indignantly rejected. Rufus too was resolute in maintaining England's ecclesiastical independence, in opposition to the Italian and monastic prejudices of Archbishop Anselm. Henry I. asserted that it was the custom of his kingdom, instituted by his father, and therefore of course derived from Edward the Confessor, that no man should appeal to the Pope without the king's license. Under the miserable usurpation of Stephen, however, appeals to Rome were allowed. But in the next reign, by the constitutions of Clarendon, this connivance was absolutely forbidden; and it was also made high treason to bring papal excommunications into England; to bring other decrees for execution was made punishable by forfeiture of goods and imprisonment. The weak princes who immediately followed the second Henry, proved unequal to maintain the struggle against

to this latter period is to be referred the origin of such enactments as interdict England's dependence

Rome and their own clergy. Even John, however, did not forget to assert his crown's prerogatives, although in the end he surrendered them more basely than any other occupant of the English throne. By the statute of Merton, 29 Henry III. the papal canons, regulating legitimacy of birth, were repudiated. Edward I. vindicated his country's laws, by ordering the execution, as a traitor, of a man who brought from Rome an excommunication levelled against a fellow-subject: an order, of which the revocation was obtained with extreme difficulty, upon condition that the offender should be banished for life. In this monarch's reign was also passed the statute of Provisors; the first parliamentary enactment which interdicted papal interference in English affairs. Under the feeble rule of Edward II. the Pope again endeavoured to usurp over England, to the great disgust of the more independent classes. Under Edward III. an English excommunication was maintained against a papal sentence to the contrary, the archdeacon of Richmond was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction by royal authority, the right of the crown, as supreme ordinary, to present by lapse was asserted, and the statute of *præmunire* was passed. Under Richard II. this statute was explained and enforced by farther enactments, which award the severest penalties to every one who should attempt to act upon any foreign jurisdiction within the realm of England. Under Henry IV. it was determined that papal bulls were in themselves of no force or authority in England; and in the same reign it was unanimously decided by the judges, that the legal remedies provided against the Pope's interference were not provisions of recent origin, but mere affirmations of the common law. In unison with this body of evidence, is a clause in a statute of the 10th of Henry VII., which declares that the king is a mixed person, having something of the priest in his character, inasmuch as he possesses an ecclesiastical as well as a temporal jurisdiction. De Antiqua Libertate Eccl. Brit. Brem. 1701. p. 133. Sir J. Davis, and Sir E. Coke, *ap.* Pettus, 11, 49. *et sequ.* Collier i. Innett's Orig. Angl. i. Twisden. Archbishop Bramhall's Just Vindication.

upon Rome. But nothing can be more erroneous than such an opinion. The Reformation deprived the Pope of no privilege which had not been denied to him centuries before, both by the common and the statute law of the land. That important revolution acted upon the papal usurpation in a manner hitherto unknown, only by prescribing tests excluding from offices of trust all persons who had ever been constitutionally disqualified for such offices by the holding of opinions in favour of a foreign ecclesiastical supremacy. Before the Reformation, no precautions were taken against the employment of functionaries theoretically favourable to the papal pretensions. But such persons no sooner began to act upon their principles, than they exposed themselves to the severest penalties. It is true, that these denunciations, like a sword in the scabbard, usually slept harmlessly in the statute-book. The weakness, the connivance, and the express dispensations of princes allowed whole generations of men to live in obedience to Rome. But such obedience never ceased to be unconstitutional and illegal, nor even free from danger to individuals. The evils of a system in which the people habitually transgressed the law, and the prince overlooked their transgression, were strikingly exemplified when Henry VIII. proceeded against the clergy under the statute of *præmunire*[f]. This system, in fact, gave to the crown a dangerous discretion which the subject was imperiously called upon to withhold. The acts of supremacy passed

[f] See Hist. Ref. under King Henry VIII. i. 279.

under Henry and Elizabeth conferred this benefit upon the country, by excluding from office all persons whose principles rendered them constitutionally incapable of it. The statute passed under the latter sovereign, provides that "every ecclesiastical person, and every ecclesiastical officer, or minister, and every temporal judge, justice, and mayor, and every other lay or temporal officer and minister, and every other person having the Queen's fee or wages within the realm," were to take a prescribed oath[g]

[g] *Viz.* "I, A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prelate hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her heirs, and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her heirs and successors, or united or annexed to the imperial crown of the realm. So help me God, and the contents of this book." (Butler's Hist. Mem. of the Engl. Cath. i. 156.)

It is obvious, that this oath is in unison with the eighth canon among the Constitutions of Clarendon passed in 1164, under Henry II. and admitted by the prelates present to be nothing more than a declaration of the ancient law of England. (Innett's Orig. Angl. ii. 255.)

Const. Clar. viii. "In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop; and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop fails to do justice a farther recourse may be had to the king: *by*

declaratory of the sovereign's ecclesiastical supremacy, upon pain of forfeiting their respective offices, and

whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the archbishop's court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown." (Collier, i. 352.) Thus the decision of English appeals is expressly claimed for the crown as a constitutional privilege; but inasmuch as the Roman divines and canonists enjoyed the highest reputation, it was conceded, that their opinion might be asked, if the King thought fit to grant such indulgence to either of the litigating parties.

The incessant attempts to evade the constitutional principles laid down at Clarendon made by papal emissaries, and their clerical co-adjutors in England, drew from the national legislature, at length, the following enactment. 16. Ric. II.

"If any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, and sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, against him, his crown, and his regality, or his realm as is aforesaid, and they which bring within the realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever within the same realm, or without; they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abetters, fautors, and counsellors shall be put out of the King's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels forfeit to our lord the King: and they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his council, there to answer to the cases aforesaid." (Collier, i. 595.) By a former statute of this King (Ibid. 592.) the serving of foreign processes, citations, or excommunications is made liable to the loss of life and member. It is demonstrable that these enactments harmonize with the whole course of previous English legislation. The oath of supremacy, therefore, enjoined under Elizabeth, was nothing more than a test, which experience had shewn to be necessary, whereby persons labouring under a constitutional disqualification were excluded from offices of trust. It had ever been a maxim of

of being disabled from holding any office in future. Other clauses of the act awarded, as a punishment of the first offence, the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and a year's imprisonment to such as maintained by writing, word, or deed, the authority of any foreign prince, prelate, or potentate; the second

English law, that *the Roman bishop has of right no more power in England, than any other foreign bishop;* individuals, therefore, who hold an opinion contrary to this principle, are necessarily objects of suspicion with those who value the constitution, and are, moreover, liable to heavy punishments, provided too in Romish times, if they attempt to follow up their conviction upon this subject. The question, accordingly, was no sooner examined in the time of Henry VIII. than the Pope's pretensions were universally rejected; as appears from the following passage cited by Abp. Bramhall from Bp. Gardiner, *De Vera Obedientia.* "No foreign bishop hath authority among us. All sorts of people are agreed upon this point with most steadfast consent, that no manner of person bred or brought up in England hath aught to do with Rome." (Just Vindic. of the Ch. of Engl. Lond. 1654. p. 42.) It may be added, the Convocation, reconciled, as it was called, in December, 1554, apprehended that the Parliament, however subservient, would probably fail, as in fact it did, to overthrow completely the ancient bulwarks of the constitution, and hence, that papal partizans would still be left under the lash of ancient statutes. An attempt, accordingly, was made by the clergy to obtain some modification of the statute of provisors. This, however, failed, and thus the statute-book was yet allowed to raise its menacing voice against the papal supremacy, even by one of the most degraded Parliaments that ever sat in England. Indeed that interested and subservient body of legislators even indirectly confirmed the constitutional principle of proscribing appeals to Rome, by denouncing the penalties of a *præmunire* against all who should attempt to disturb titles to property once ecclesiastical, by processes either at home, or abroad.

such offence was to be visited by the penalties of a *præmunire*: the third, by those of high treason. That such an act should have passed with so much unanimity, may fairly be attributed to its strictly constitutional nature. The ministers and their agents could bring abundant evidence from the statute-book, and other incontrovertible authorities, to prove that the parties affected by this measure were actuated by principles at variance with the whole stream of English jurisprudence; being therefore persons who never could, at any period, have been constitutionally admitted to offices of trust within the realm. Nor, it might be added, was the ecclesiastical supremacy a peculiar prerogative of the English crown[h]. It is notorious, that the Christian emperors of Rome exercised it, and that all Christian princes have exercised it more or less[i]. Besides, no man in either House of Parliament could have forgotten that the late Queen Mary, bigotted as was

[h] The ecclesiastical supremacy of princes is admitted in the following passages translated by Abp. Bramhall, from Cardinal Pole, *De Concilio*: a tract printed in Labbe and Cossart's Councils, (xiv. 1665.) and elsewhere. "God the Father hath assigned this office to Christian emperors, that they should act the part of Christ; the Son of God." (Respons. ad quæst. 74. Lab. et Coss. 1715.) "The Pope, as a priestly head, doth execute the office of Christ, the true head; but we may also truly say, that the Emperor doth execute the office of Christ, as a kingly head." (Respons. ad quæst. 75. Ibid.) Bramhall's Just Vindic. 34.

[i] Of such interference in ecclesiastical affairs the Novels of Justinian, and the Capitulars of Charlemagne are instances. See Bramhall, 116, 117.

her adherence to Rome, had repeatedly assumed a discretion in ecclesiastical affairs [k]. In opposition to a case so plain, to talk of King Lucius, St. Peter's ship, Catholic unity, the miseries of Germany, the satanical temptations of Luther, and other such idle dreams, must have appeared to the generality of hearers a mere waste of time. It is, indeed, hardly to be supposed that the prelates would have opposed unanimously a measure capable in the main, theologically, constitutionally, and historically of a defence so triumphant, as is the bill of supremacy, had they not felt themselves under circumstances of more than ordinary embarrassment. It appears, however, that such was actually their condition. Most of them had notoriously sworn different ways respecting the papal supremacy; greatly to the injury of their reputations, it being now said, that their decision as to this matter was utterly unworthy of notice [l]. To

[k] Queen Mary not only ordered the celebration of mass in places where it could not be legally said, and exercised other ecclesiastical prerogatives, before the submission of England to Rome; but also after that event, she granted a license to Pole, authorising him to act as papal legate (a plain proof that her advisers admitted the illegality of his character until sanctioned by the crown) evaded the recal of his legation, and refused to admit Peto's red hat into the kingdom.

[l] "And where some here doth say, that they will never trust those men which once denied the Pope's authority, and now of the contrary, stand in the defence of the same; in my judgment, their sayings be not greatly to be allowed. For it may happen, as oftentimes it doth chance indeed, that a man of honesty, worship, yea of honour, may commit treason against his prince, and yet by the goodness of the same prince be pardoned for that

this reflexion, probably, must their conduct be attributed upon the present occasion. They were fully sensible, that if they should forswear the Pope once more, they must go to their graves under the imputation of having lived indifferent to such perjuries as might secure their temporal interests[m].

offence: shall we determinately say that man is never after to be trusted in the prince's affairs? Nay, God forbid: but rather think of the contrary, that he which once hath run so hastily and so rashly that he hath overthrown himself and fallen, and broken his brow or his shin, will after that take heed to walk more warily." Speech of Scot, Bishop of Chester, against the bill of supremacy. Strype's Annals, Append. i. 419.

[m] It may be added, that the papal claims to an ecclesiastical supremacy over England are at variance with the decision of the general council of Ephesus (A. D. 431.) upon occasion of an appeal from the island of Cyprus, against the encroachments of the Patriarch of Antioch. Abp. Bramhall thus translates this decision: "If it be not the ancient custom that the bishops of Antioch ordain in Cyprus, as the council is sufficiently satisfied; the Cyprian prelates shall hold their rights untouched and unviolated, according to the canons of the holy fathers, and the ancient custom, ordaining their own bishops. And let the same be observed in other dioceses, and in all provinces, *that no bishop occupy another province which formerly and from the beginning was not under the power of him, or his predecessors.* If any do occupy another province, or subject it by force, let him restore it, that the canons of the fathers be not slighted, nor pride creep into the Church under the pretext of worldly power; lest by little and little, that liberty be lost which Christ purchased for us with his blood. Therefore it hath pleased the holy synod, that *every province enjoy its rights and customs unviolated, which it had from the beginning.*" (Just. Vind. 94. Labb. et Coss. iii. 801.) Now it is notorious that there is no evidence whatever of a jurisdiction over Britain exercised by the Roman bishops *from the beginning.* On the contrary, it is known, that at the end of the

The act of supremacy corrected numerous anomalies introduced into English jurisprudence by the unpatriotic fanaticism of the late Queen's administration. A restraint was laid by this act upon the citation of parties before ecclesiastical authorities acting without the dioceses in which such parties dwelt. All appeals to a foreign jurisdiction were prohibited; payments of first-fruits and tenths to the see of Rome were forbidden; provision was made for enforcing the constitutional dependence of the clergy upon the crown; also for the election and consecration of the prelacy within the realm. All pecuniary exactions heretofore demanded by the Pope were henceforth to cease; all dispensations and licenses obtained from him were to be sought from the national authorities. The facilities provided under Henry VIII. for the appointment of suffragan bishops were revived; pretended licenses and dispensations

sixth century there existed a Church in our island wholly unconnected with that of Rome, and differing from it in several particulars. It is true indeed that papal partizans endeavour to elude arguments drawn from such facts, by talking about King Lucius, and other personages, whose existence and exploits are equally easy to ascertain; but it is evident that they might as well appeal to Ovid's Metamorphoses. Hence Father Barnes, an English Benedictine monk, freely admits, that this country formerly possessed the Cyprian privilege of an exemption from the jurisdiction of any patriarch. "Ex can. 8. Ephesino, debent conservari, imo et vi ablata repeti ecclesiarum antiqua privilegia. Insula autem Britanniæ gavisa est olim privilegio Cyprio, ut nullius patriarchæ legibus subderetur." Joh. Barnesii Ben. Angl. sent. de Eccl. Angl. priv. ex Cath. Rom. Pacif. sect. 3. Inter Opusc. Var. Brem. 1701, p. 160.

from the see of Rome were annulled; the law of marriage was restored to the footing upon which it had been placed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Doctors of civil law, being married, were allowed to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Irreverent speeches against the Eucharist were made punishable, according to the statute of Edward VI.; and communion under both kinds was restored to the people. And, lastly, the persecuting statutes, revived under Queen Mary, were repealed[n]. That all these provisions in this excellent act were just and expedient, is sufficiently manifest; that they were also strictly constitutional, is capable of demonstration. Modern papal partizans maintain, that before the Reformation a distinction was accurately made in this island between the Pope's temporal and spiritual claims. The national records, however, prove, that the ancient English attempted not, as a body, to make any such distinction. They viewed, indeed, the Roman see with respect and deference, but their legislative voice was repeatedly raised to deny its right to any jurisdiction over their country. Elizabeth's act of repeal, which abrogated her sister's arrangements in favour of the papacy, did therefore little more than ratify the solemn decisions of her remote progenitors. At the same time care was taken in thus asserting the crown's ancient and unalienable prerogatives, to guard against offence and misrepresentation. It had been asserted, that the sovereign, in bearing the title of Supreme Head, had

[n] Strype's *Annals*, i. 103.

assumed a character nearly or quite identical with that of the Pope, who is a priest as well as a judge. In order to disarm such objectors, it is stated, in the act of supremacy, "that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, &c. within this realm[o]." Nothing more is therefore claimed for the crown, under this act, than its inherent right to the supreme regulation of ecclesiastical affairs within the limits of its ordinary jurisdiction.

For the future exercise of such right, this act empowered the sovereign to nominate, by letters patent, under the great seal, certain commissioners, being natural born subjects, for the decision of ecclesiastical causes: also "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, &c. which by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction can or may be lawfully reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended." It was, however, provided, that such commissioners should pronounce nothing to be heresy, which had not been heretofore so adjudged: "by the plain words of the canonical Scriptures, or by any one of the first four general councils, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy, by the express and plain

[o] Strype's Annals, i. 161.

words of the canonical Scripture, or that should hereafter by the Parliament, with the assent of the Convocation[p]." This portion of the act led to the appointment of the High Commission court: upon which were devolved the powers which Henry VIII. had entrusted to a Vicar-general.

On the 15th of February a bill for the restoration of the English Liturgy was offered to Parliament[q]. It was, however, soon laid aside; most probably in consequence of allegations, that the subject had not been duly considered by competent judges. The royal supremacy was obviously a question within the ordinary range of legal and political research. But it might be reasonably said, that liturgical matters demanded the intervention of professed theologians. Of such persons, however, none favourable to the Reformation were in Parliament; and even those members of that body who held Romish opinions, would naturally desire to come into the House prepared for a debate of religious importance, with the best assistance that could be obtained from their party out of doors. In order to meet the just expectations of both parties, it was determined at the

[p] Strype's Annals, i. 100. Twisden, 160. Cecil, one of the commissioners for compiling the *Reformatio Legum*, under Edward, was now, it should be recollected, the Queen's most confidential adviser; and therefore, no doubt, he had been consulted in preparing the bill of supremacy. These circumstances afford an additional reason for believing, that the compilers of the *Reformatio* intended to restrict the penalties of heresy to opinions branded by that name, in the first four general councils.

[q] Strype's Annals, i. 109.

council-board, that a public conference upon certain leading articles of controversy should be arranged between a defined number of select disputants. The Archbishop of York, accordingly, received a communication from some of his brother councillors, apprising him formally of the design in view, and enjoining him, in concert with others of the prelacy, to nominate eight, nine, or ten Romanists, as antagonists to an equal number of Reformers at the proposed conference. The principles upon which the business was to be conducted were, that all the arguments should be in writing; that they should also be in English, for the better information of numerous persons, especially members of the legislature, who desired to consider them; that they should be publicly read at the times prescribed for that purpose; and that the disputants on each side should deliver their writings to those on the other, in order to give them an opportunity of producing, upon a future occasion, such additions or corrections as might be found necessary. After the delay of a few days Archbishop Heath, having consulted his brethren, submitted to the council the names of four bishops, and four ecclesiastics of inferior station, as disputants on the Romish side[r]. The bishops were White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Bayne of Lichfield and Coventry, and Scot of Chester. Their associates were, Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes, Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canter-

[r] Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Westminster, &c. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 474.

bury, and Chadsey, Archdeacon of Middlesex; all men of considerable professional eminence. On the Protestant side were nominated Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Whitehead, Jewel, Aylmer, Cox, Grindal, Horne, and Guest[s]. As the balance of dignity lay on the Romish side, the order was, that its advocates should be first called upon for their papers[t]. The questions proposed were: 1. Whether it is not against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers, and in the administration of the sacraments? 2. Whether every Church has not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so that the same be done to edification? 3. Whether it can be proved from the Word of God, that in the mass there is a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and living[u]? About ten days were allowed for preparing the required writings, and it is probable that this space was industriously filled by the advocates on both sides. The Romanists are known to have been very much upon the alert, seeking assistance from the Universities, and from every other quarter whence it might be reasonably expected[x].

On Friday, March 31, the disputants met in Westminster-abbey, the Privy Council and both houses of Parliament being present. The liturgical use of a tongue popularly unintelligible, was to be

Strype's Annals, i. 128.

[t] Declaration, &c. 475.

[u] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 605.

[x] Juellus ad P. Martyrem. Ibid. Records, iii. 357.

the subject of discussion. An intelligent advocate would soon be reduced to utter despair in preparing for the defence of this usage against assailants of ability. The following, accordingly, was the miserable device by which the Romanists endeavoured to escape from a contest so hopeless. When their papers were demanded, White, Bishop of Winchester, said that he and his friends, not having been allowed sufficient time for thinking upon a matter of so much importance, had brought nothing written with them, but that one of them would, if desired, allege extemporaneously some reasons for the continuance of a foreign language in public worship. This speech occasioned general surprise and disgust among the auditors; it being notorious, that ample time had been allowed for preparing the expected argument, that great exertions had been made among eminent Romanists for the purpose, and that Archbishop Heath had expressly approved the plan of a conference in writing: observing, that "to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to the subversion of the hearer[y]." Nevertheless, the Romish offer, evasive as it was, did not meet with rejection; permission being given for the delivery of an extemporaneous address. Dr. Cole then stepped forward, and spoke with extreme vehemence, constantly referring to a mass of written authorities with which he had come provided, and being frequently prompted by his friends around him. In

[y] Something much like this is found 2 Tim. ii. 14, and it is described as of apostolic origin, in the *Declaration*.

the course of his harangue, he stamped with his feet, tossed his arms about, incessantly shifted the position of his body, snapped his fingers, and worked his eyebrows up and down. His matter was in keeping with his manner. He never could mention the Reformers without loading them with abuse, as the firebrands of sedition, and the authors of all unquietness. By way of introducing his arguments, he said, that England had received the Gospel more than thirteen hundred years before; and he asked repeatedly, with triumphant emphasis: "From what literary remains, what annals, what monuments can it be made to appear, that the public prayers were then said in our island in the English tongue?" After taking leave of this interrogation, he displayed one of his gravest looks, and enjoined his audience to mark with especial heed, that the Apostles had divided the globe into the East and the West: the latter being assigned to the superintendence of Peter and Paul, the former to that of the remaining Apostles. The western division included, the speaker said, nearly all Europe, and its two apostolic teachers used, in its spiritual affairs, only the Latin tongue. In like manner, Greek alone was employed by those who evangelised the eastern half of Christendom. As reasons for following these apostolical precedents, he maintained with a solemn and magisterial air, that nothing is more inexpedient than to bring down religious rites to the level of vulgar understandings, for that ignorance is the mother of devotion [z].

[z] Juellus ad P. Martyrem, Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 357. The council of Trent decided on the 17th of September,

Cole having concluded, his associates were asked, whether they had any thing more to say? and a pe-

1562, that mass should be said in a dead language, in the following terms: "Etsi missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus, ut vulgari lingua passim celebraretur. Quamobrem retento ubique cujusque ecclesiæ antiquo, et a sancta Romana ecclesia, omnium ecclesiarum matre et magistra, probato ritu, ne oves Christi esuriant, neve parvuli panem petant, et non sit qui frangat eis: mandat sancta synodus pastoribus, et singulis curam animarum gerentibus, ut frequenter inter missarum celebrationem, vel per se, vel per alios, ex iis quæ in missa leguntur, aliquid exponant, atque inter cætera, sanctissimi hujus sacrificii mysterium aliquod declarent, diebus præsertim Dominicis et festis." (Labb. et Coss. xiv. 855.) In this canon, of which the former and more material part is supported by no marginal reference whatever, both F. Paul (573) and Le Courayer (ii. 285) understand rightly enough as it seems, by the term *patribus* the fathers, or those Greek and Latin divines, who wrote in the earlier ages of the Christian æra. The assertion, however, thus interpreted, is a palpable falsehood. The fathers wrote for those who spoke Greek and Latin vernacularly, and to whom, accordingly, a liturgy in those tongues was an intelligible service. Besides, in the times of the fathers, Coptic, Syriac, and other liturgies were used by people who spoke those languages. In pronouncing this absurd canon, the Tridentine council might therefore seem, as Le Courayer suggests (294) to have been merely actuated by a determination to change nothing, for fear it should seem to be admitted, that the Protestants ever could be right. Cardinal Pallavicino (ii. 492), defends this canon upon the following grounds: 1. The difficulty of translating accurately from one language into another; hence the propriety of using a single language in the divine offices, as a means of preserving a strict unity of faith. 2. That priests would often be prevented from officiating without their own particular countries, if the service were every where in the vernacular tongue. 3. It is desirable, as a preventive against heresy, that heavenly things be accessible to ignorant ears only through

gative reply being returned, the Protestants were desired to begin. Robert Horne, formerly Dean of Durham, and soon afterwards Bishop of Winchester, immediately arose, and produced the written argument of his party upon the question under discussion. Before he read this paper he delivered a prayer invoking the Holy Spirit to guide him, and those around him, into all truth. He then protested in his own name, and in those of his friends, that they were all firm believers of the Catholic faith, as expressed in the three creeds, and that the whole controversy ought to be referred to the judgment of the Catholic Church: a designation, however, he said, by which not the Roman Church was intended, but that society which St. Austin and other fathers affirm is to be sought by means of Scripture, and which is governed and led by the Holy Ghost. From the faith of this Church, he maintained, that he and his friends had never departed; and he also remarked, that several of their adversaries had once taught this faith, though they now opposed, and had lately persecuted it; conduct which they were bound to explain, and, if possible, justify [a]. This temperate call upon his opponents appears to have been the principal, if not the only personality, contained in Horne's discourse: offensive charges being judiciously excluded from

the medium of judicious preachers. The written report of Dr. Cole's speech is printed by Bishop Burnet, (Records, ii. 464) but in this is not found the offensive matter, which, as we learn from Bp. Jewel, fell from the speaker's lips.

[a] Dr. Horne's preface to his discourse. Strype's Annals, Append. i. 465.

it [b]. His scriptural arguments were chiefly drawn from St. Paul to the Corinthians [c], and they are, as in fact they could hardly fail of being, perfectly irrefragable. Various authorities, establishing the same point, were then adduced from the fathers who wrote in the first five ages; and the whole paper unfolded a mass of evidence against the modern Romish usage, which must have enforced conviction upon every impartial hearer [d]. A general murmur of approbation arose from the audience when the reading of this moderate and scholarly piece concluded. Even the Earl of Shrewsbury could not deny, that the Protestants had gained an important advantage by so able a defence of their opinions [e]. Greatly disconcerted by such a demonstration in favour of their adversaries, the bishops now said, that they had much more to urge upon the morning's question. In order to give them an opportunity of thus reinforcing their

[b] Juellus ad P. Mart. *ut supra.*

[c] 1 Cor. xiv. The ordinary Romish mode of attempting to evade the doctrine of this chapter is to represent it as applying to preaching only. Horne combats this interpretation at length, and indeed it is manifestly untenable. The following is the judgment which Feckenham, once abbot of Westminster, was driven to pass upon it at a future period. "He doth believe in his conscience, and before God, that the fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians is as truly to be understanded of the common service to be had in the mother-tongue, to be understanded of the vulgar people, as of the preaching or prophesying in the mother-tongue." Strype's Annals, Append. i. 528.

[d] The piece read by Dr. Horne is printed by Foxe (1920), and by Bp. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 457.

[e] Juellus ad P. Martyrem, *ut supra.*

arguments, it was agreed that Cole's discourse should be committed to writing, together with any additional matter which it might seem advisable to produce, and that the whole should be delivered to the opposite party as soon as possible; that party supplying, in its turn to the Romanists, a copy of the piece read by Horne. After such exchange, a future day was to be appointed for the reading of the amended Romish argument, and of the remarks which the Protestants might think proper to make upon it. Upon the following Monday it was arranged that the conference should be resumed: the reading of written arguments upon the second proposition being appointed as the business of the day. To this arrangement both parties publicly assented, and the assembly then quietly dispersed [f].

On the following Monday, according to appointment, the disputants met in the same place again; being attended, as before, by a very large and distinguished auditory. The Lord Keeper, Bacon, who acted as president, or moderator, in conjunction with Archbishop Heath [g], opened the morning's business by a formal statement of the arrangements to which both parties had agreed before their separation on the last Friday. He concluded by desiring the bishops to begin their reading of the arguments prepared against the right of particular churches to

[f] Declaration, &c. *ut supra.*

[g] "Judex sit, si diis placet, Nicolaus Baconus, homo laicus, hæreticus, ac rerum divinarum prorsus imperitus, assistente ad speciem tantum reverendissimo Archiepiscopo Eboracensi." Sanders, 284.

regulate their own rites and ceremonies. White, of Winchester, immediately answered this summons by expressing himself determined that nothing should be read upon that subject until after a reply to Horne's discourse, delivered at the last meeting, had been heard. Astonished by such an announcement, Bacon asked the other bishops, whether their determination was the same? An affirmative answer was unanimously returned. Bishop Watson, of Lincoln, then eagerly pressed forward, insisted that his party would have to complain of partial usage, if now prevented from arguing against the Protestant paper heard on Friday, and asserted that Cole's harangue upon that day was merely the unpremeditated effusion of an individual. This assertion marked almost every face in the church with an expression of surprise and disgust; it having been observed, that Cole made great use in speaking of a paper which he held in his hand, and that often the bishops around him directed his attention to particular parts of it. Watson, however, heedless of the displeasure visibly provoked by his rash asseveration, proceeded with his complaints of unfair usage, and maintained that his party was precluded from abandoning its ground because it was contending in the cause of God. He said also, that his friends had been grievously and most unjustly pressed for time, having had notice of the Friday's disputation only two days beforehand, and having been reduced to the necessity of sitting up all the last night for the purpose of preparing the paper which was now offered

to the consideration of the auditory [h]. The Protestants, he declared, had been allowed ample opportunity for preparation. Vainly did Bacon endeavour to overcome this unexpected opposition by appealing to the order of council by which the whole proceedings had been arranged, and to the members of that board who sat around him. This latter appeal merely caused the bishops to shift their ground. Sufficient time, it was now alleged, could not be found at any single sitting for hearing the arguments on both sides of such momentous questions. This objection was, however, met by an assurance from the Lord Keeper, which the auditory re-echoed on every side, that no difficulty would be made about the patient hearing of any matter which the disputants might produce. Bishop Watson then alleged a new subject of complaint. His party, he said, had been, by means of varying orders, prevented from using to the best advantage even the short time which was allowed them: the Archbishop of York having first given them notice to dispute in Latin, an intimation next having reached them that

[h] This account is directly contradictory to that of Bp. Jewel, which has been already used, and which informs us that the Romanists approached the contest after a notice of not less than ten days: a space of time too by no means indolently spent. Jewel's letter is dated April 6, three days only after the conference was abruptly terminated. "Cùm tamen habuissent plus minus decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxonio et Cantabrigia, et undique ex omnibus angulis contraxissent." Juel. ad P. Mart. *ut supra.*

they were to write in Latin, and lastly, a call having been made upon them for a writing in English! Though these allegations were immediately denied with Heath's concurrence, yet the prelates did not cease to wrangle. At length, the Archbishop told his brethren, that they were to blame, and he, therefore, advised them to begin the reading of their arguments upon the second question without farther delay. As if embarrassed by disapprobation from such a quarter, the bishops instantly assumed a new defensive position. They maintained, it was urged, the negative of the question proposed for discussion. Hence, by the practice both of the schools, and of the courts of law, they were entitled to the second place in the debate. In answer to Bacon's observation that they had willingly begun on Friday, they said, that then their argument was affirmative. This last assertion, however, the Protestants immediately denied, and obviously with justice. But nothing could overcome the pertinacity of the Romish disputants. They found fault with their adversaries for professing themselves members of the Catholic Church, taunted them with the differences of opinion prevailing among the continental Reformers, and in fine omitted nothing likely to cause irritation and delay. At length they were successively summoned to begin, and having unanimously refused, the assembly broke up in displeasure. The reason assigned for this refractory conduct was that the Protestants, by reading last, would send away the audience favourably disposed towards their own opinions[1]. Nor

[1] Juellus ad P. Mart. *ut supra*. Foxe, 1924. Declaration of

can it be doubted that this was the real cause of the tergiversation displayed by the Romish party. The three questions appointed for discussion are among the most intractable which a Romish polemic is likely to consider. The view of them taken by his Church can, indeed, only be maintained by means of embarrassing sophistry. The delivery of such matter, immediately followed by that of plain sense in opposition to it, could not fail of exerting a sinister influence over the Romish cause. As it was, the prelates injured their opinions severely in the public estimation by their mode of evading the proposed discussion[k]. With this penalty, however, the government did not rest satisfied. The Romish disputants were viewed as persons who had set lawful authority at defiance, and it was determined, accordingly, to proceed against them for a contempt. The Bishops White and Watson, as being the most guilty[l], were committed to the Tower. Three other

the proceedings, &c. signed N. Bacon, Cust. Sigill. F. Shrewsbury, F. Bedford, Pembroke, E. Clinton, E. Rogers, F. Knollys, W. Cecil, A. Cave. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 478.

[k] "Ea vero res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit opinionem populi de episcopis: omnes enim cœperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere." Juellus ad P. Mart. 359.

[l] "De tam aperto contemptu et contumacia." (Ibid.) "And afterwards, for the contempt so notoriously made, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, who have most obstinately disobeyed both common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order; specially Lincoln, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London." (Declaration, &c.) Heylin (Hist. Ref. 284) says that these two

bishops, and the same number of inferior divines were bound in recognisances to appear from day to day for judgment. From every one of the six were eventually exacted considerable fines [m].

prelates threatened the Queen with excommunication. But this assertion is unconfirmed either by Jewel's letter, or by the Council's Declaration. It has, probably, no better foundation than the following vague passage supplied by Sanders. "Atque hic certe episcopi tantam animi magnitudinem ostendebant, quantam in tam repentina hæresis irruptione optare quisquam poterat. Sua enim privata pericula adeo neglexerunt, ut eorum plærique excommunicationis censuram adversus Reginam aliosque nonnullos adhibendam censerent, qui duces illi autoresque fuerunt tam periculosæ defectionis, totique regno ignominiosæ." De Schism. Angl. 284.

[m] *Viz.* From Bayne, of Lichfield and Coventry, 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, 250*l.* from Scot, of Chester, 200 marks, from Dr. Cole, 500 marks, from Dr. Harpsfield, 40*l.* and from Dr. Chadsey, 40 marks. (Strype's Annals, i. 140.) The two Houses of Parliament, it should be recollected, had adjourned for the purpose of attending this conference. The privy council was also present. The obstinate pertinacity, therefore, of the Romish party, bore very much the character of a contempt of court. The objection to the management of this conference adopted by later Romanists from Sanders, is evidently of little value. The father of their history says that "unjust laws of disputation were prescribed by the heretics alone: *iniquæ disputandi leges ab hæreticis tantum præscribuntur.*" Now this is not true. For Abp. Heath, and most probably, others of the council addicted to Romanism, were concerned in arranging this conference. The real reasons of the conduct adopted by the Romish divines upon this occasion, were obviously the difficulty which they found at the outset in producing any specious defence of their Church in the points at issue, and their confusion on witnessing the applause excited by the Protestant discourse upon the first question. As for the advantage of priority in a debate,

The conference having terminated, parliamentary business was resumed, and on the 18th of April, a bill for restoring the English liturgy came to the Upper House from the Commons [n]. It was met among the Lords by a spirited opposition, the whole episcopal bench and several lay peers being arrayed against it. On the second reading [o], as it is thought, Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, attacked it in a long speech. His efforts, however, proved him rather a zealous Romanist, than a wary scholar. He ran the hackneyed round of idle assertions respecting King Lucius, Catholic unity, the unvaried uniformity of Romish usages, and the discrepancies of opinion existing among the Reformers. Bishop Ridley he pronounced "the notablest learned man" of Protestant principles among the English Reformers; but he misrepresented the doctrinal declarations made both by that prelate, and by Archbishop Cranmer in the reign of King Edward [p]. On the third reading of the bill [q], Bishop Scot, of Chester, spoke against it. His arguments were chiefly meant to prove, that the English liturgy was rendered excep-

it is probably very doubtful. A speaker ably advocating a strong case would generally desire to prepossess his auditory on his own side as soon as he appears before them. The mere quibbling, declamation, or sophistry of a respondent would have very little chance of removing such prepossessions from the minds of judicious hearers.

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 612.

[o] April 26. Strype's Annals, i. 109.

[p] Strype's Annals, i. 110. Append. 431. Collier, ii. 424.

[q] April 28. Strype's Annals, i. 112.

tionable by several important omissions, that matters once determined ought not again to be called in question, and that laymen are insufficient judges of religious questions[r]. Of answers either to his speech, or Feckenham's, there are no traces extant. Nor, indeed, is it unlikely, that no elaborate replies to these effusions were addressed to the House. The prelates were unanimous in a desire to retain the Latin service, and the lay Lords, probably, were universally unequal to the task of combatting their objections to a change. Information, however, out of doors could easily be procured, from which the peers might see that their ecclesiastical associates had urged nothing but sophistries, assumptions, and misrepresentations. The Act of Uniformity, accordingly, as this legislative measure is termed, passed the House, on the 28th of April; Archbishop Heath; the Marquess of Winchester; the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Viscount Montague; the Bishops Boner, Thirlby, Pates, Kitchen, Bayne, Turberville, Scot, and Oglethorpe; the Lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North; and the Abbot of Westminster, dissenting[s]. By this act it was provided, that King Edward's second service-book, as altered by the committee of divines appointed for that purpose, should be used in all places of public worship from and after the festival of St. John the Baptist next ensuing.

[r] Strype, i. 112. Append. 438. Collier, ii. 426.
[s] Strype's Annals, i. 113. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 615.

Another act, passed at this time, empowered the Queen, upon avoidances of bishoprics, to reserve for her own use landed estates attached to them, giving at the same time a full equivalent for such properties in impropriate parsonages and yearly tenths. This measure was resisted by the whole episcopal bench; nor were the Commons easily brought to sanction it[t]. The experience of recent years had taught men to view such propositions as the mere devices of hungry courtiers, who represented them as advantageous to the national finances, but who were soon found to have swept into their own pockets all the benefits arising from them. This bill was followed by one for the suppression of monastic establishments, and the resumption of their endowments by the crown. Strenuous efforts were ineffectually made for negativing this motion also[u]: of its propriety, however, there can be no question. The monastic institutions of western Europe are organized confederacies, moved by an impulse communicated to them from Rome. Their continuance therefore in England was inconsistent with Elizabeth's intentions both to discard the religious innovations adopted under papal sanction, and to respect inviolably the

[t] The bill passed the Lower House on the 17th of April, by a small majority. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 615.

[u] Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, in defending monachism as a lord of Parliament, maintained that the Nazarites, the Prophets, the Apostles, and even our Saviour himself, might be reckoned among monks. Juellus ad P. Mart. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 360.

constitutional maxim which claimed for her crown a complete supremacy of every kind within its dominions. Another act, emanating from this Parliament, empowered the Queen to make statutes for ecclesiastical and scholastic foundations, established in the last three reigns, and not yet sufficiently provided with regulations for their governance. A motion was also made and carried, after much opposition, to declare that the episcopal deprivations effected under King Edward were valid. This act gave relief to many persons who had long been harassed in consequence of leases granted, and other transactions, accomplished by the Protestant prelates who superseded the disgraced Romish incumbents. Among the arguments in favour of this measure urged upon the Lower House, it was not forgotten to remind the hearers that Bishop Ridley had expressed himself anxious, even at the stake, on account of individuals who had suffered from renewals effected while he held the see of London. The more active supporters of these motions would fain have carried other measures agreeable to the Protestants. They brought a bill into the House of Commons for the restoration to their sees of the Bishops Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; another for the revival of former statutes, authorising the crown to nominate thirty-two commissioners for digesting a body of canon law; and a third for the restoration of all incumbents deprived for marriage in the late reign. The last equitable measure was abandoned at the desire of Elizabeth herself, who had imbibed some sort of prejudice against married ecclesiastics. The two

other motions also failed [v]. Romish principles indeed seem to have been actively and even angrily defended in the Lower House during this session of Parliament. The revolting cruelties by which the papal party had been recently polluted could hardly fail of furnishing topics to debaters on the opposite side. Such upbraidings, however, were not heard in silent confusion by those who had borne a share in the guilt. Dr. Story, who had acted as royal proctor in the proceedings against Cranmer, and who had been conspicuous in other displays of atrocious intolerance under the late Queen, thus unblushingly received the reflexions cast upon his party's recent conduct: "I wish that I had done more than I have. It is to be lamented that I and others were not more vehement in executing the laws; I did, however, enough to shew my hearty detestation of heresy: upon one occasion especially. An earwig was singing a psalm at the stake in Uxbridge; but I cut him short; for I threw a faggot in his face, and a bush of thorns at his feet. It was my counsel, that heretics of eminency should be plucked down as well as the ordinary sort; and I did bring into trouble both Sir Philip Hoby, and another Kentish knight. Nor do I see any thing in all these affairs which ought to make me feel shame or sorrow. My sole grief, indeed, is that we laboured only about the young and little twigs; we should have struck at the root [x]."

[v] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 360. Strype's Annals, i. 85.

[x] Ibid. 116. By "striking at the root," Story was understood to mean, that his party ought to have removed Elizabeth

The Convocation endeavoured vainly to make a stand for the papal faith in the earlier stages of its existence. On the last day of February it offered to the bishops a solemn profession of belief in some important particulars, digested under five articles, with a request that their Lordships would present this paper to the Upper House of Parliament. Of these articles, the three first affirming the corporal presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory character of the mass, are the same that had been denied by Cranmer and his two friends at Oxford. The fourth is a loosely-worded assertion of the papal supremacy, founded upon the definition in which the council of Florence affirmed that principle[y]. The fifth maintains, that to clergymen alone belongs, and ever has belonged, the right of determining, not only matters of faith, but also of

out of the way while her sister lived. This intemperate partizan soon afterwards went abroad, and obtained employment in the Spanish service at Antwerp. It was thought, however, advisable, to follow precedents in Mary's reign, and kidnap him from this place. He was, accordingly, brought over into England by stratagem, and executed as a traitor.

[y] "4. That to Peter the Apostle, and his lawful successors in the Apostolic see, as Christ's vicars, is given the supreme power of feeding and ruling the Church of Christ militant, and of confirming their brethren." In this article, by "Peter's successors," the Roman bishops are no doubt intended, and their see is plainly that which is termed "Apostolic." But it is not capable of proof, that St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome. It is rather probable that he, in concert with St. Paul, placed Linus in that see. (Pearson. de ann. prior. Episc. Rom. inter Op. Posth. 154.) Nor, again, was the term "Apostolic," anciently confined to the Roman see.

ecclesiastical discipline. These articles were presented by Bishop Boner to the Lord Keeper Bacon, and were by that officer courteously received. No farther notice, however, appears to have been taken of them. Nor did the Convocation continue its activity; a series of adjournments only following until its separation [z].

On the 8th of May, the parliament was dissolved, and on the 15th of that month the bishops, with other ecclesiastics of note, attended, according to order, a meeting of the privy council, at which the Queen presided. They were admonished to obey the acts recently passed. Archbishop Heath replied, by reminding her Majesty of her sister's reconciliation with Rome, and of her engagement to suppress heresy consequent upon it: an engagement, he said, from which neither Mary nor her successors could recede without incurring disgrace and malediction. Elizabeth spiritedly replied: "*As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord*" [a]. Being resolved to imitate Josiah, who assembled the elders of Judea and Jerusalem, in order to make, under their advice, a covenant with God, I lately called together my clergy and my parliament. My object was to bind myself and my people unto the Lord, and not unto the Roman see. My sister's power extended not to contract the obligations which have just been mentioned. Our records shew that the papal jurisdiction over this realm is an usurpation, and they

[a] Strype's Annals, i. 82.

[z] Josh. xxiv. 15.

fully justify the statutes which have lately been enacted. It is by diving into and following the precedents which have come down to me from a long line of predecessors that I mean to rule. And I hope that in this my successors will follow my example. My crown is no way subject to any power whatever, save to that of Christ, the King of kings. I shall, therefore, esteem as enemies, both to God and myself, all such of my subjects as shall hereafter own any foreign or usurped authority within my realm."

Such a declaration from a sovereign's lips could, under any circumstances, only be received in silence by objectors. In this instance, however, the resisting parties must also have felt themselves rather dubious as to the prospect of justifying their conduct satisfactorily at a future period. They were not men who had grown grey amidst a continued stream of prejudices in favour of the papal see. They had, on the contrary, seen the pretensions of that see rigidly examined, and almost universally exploded. They knew, that in pronouncing these pretensions a bare-faced usurpation, Elizabeth spoke, indeed, no other than the language of the national records. They were also well aware, that the theological arguments of papal partisans are merely founded upon a scanty basis of obscure scriptural and historical passages, and upon assumptions which many able and upright men had treated as unavailing. Most of the dignitaries now before the council had likewise affirmed, under the sanction of an oath, that the Pope was entitled to no power of any kind

in England. Yet they were now resolute in claiming for him a paramount ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the realm. This inconsistent conduct was, probably, in a great measure owing to the reproaches generally cast upon them in consequence of their former perjuries. Hence they could not find the face to forswear the Pope once more. They were also sensible that the changes effected, and in contemplation, would reduce the Church very nearly to the condition in which it was left at King Edward's death. But they might esteem themselves not bound by their ancient oaths of renunciation to go thus far; and therefore they might judge it best to place at once their opposition upon the reputable footing of a reluctance to forswear themselves again. It has likewise been imagined, that the bishops and other dignitaries hoped by the unanimity of their opposition to embarrass the government, and thus to extort from its fears some concession in favour of the Roman Church. Nor, indeed, did the ministers observe without uneasiness this unanimous disobedience of the hierarchy. As an expedient, accordingly, for intimidating the prelates in turn, the Earl of Sussex advised that use should be made of various papers which he had sealed up in the royal closet, at the late Queen's death. These documents proved, that in Edward's time Archbishop Heath, who then held the see of Worcester, as also the bishops Boner and Gardiner had carried on secret intrigues with Rome, in the hope of undermining the Protector Somerset. Such treasonable communications were, indeed, satisfactory proofs that the three prelates

had no reason to complain of severe usage from the government of that period. But when the council met again, three days after its conference with the bishops [b], it was determined that these evidences against certain of the body could not now fairly be acted upon to their prejudice: a general pardon from the crown, both in the last and in the present reign, having screened them from any such liability. It was, therefore, merely resolved, that the oath of supremacy should be tendered to the various parties from whom the legislature had exacted that test at such times as might appear expedient, and that such as might refuse it must abide the consequences of their denial [c].

Bishop Boner appears to have been the first individual required to take this oath. The demand was made upon him before the council on the 30th of May, and he refused to swear [d]. Such a man obviously merited no indulgence, and accordingly, on the 2d of June, proceedings were instituted, depriving him of his bishopric [e]. This was effected on the 29th of that month [f], by the Queen's commissioners. In the course of a few months afterwards the oath was tendered to the whole body of beneficed clergy. Among the prelates all refused it excepting Kitchen of Llandaff, who now as here-

[b] May 18.
[c] Strype, Annals, i. 209.
[d] Ibid. 205.
[e] Harmer, 152.
[f] Strype, Annals, i. 210.

tofore upon every change[g], heard obediently the mandate of authority. A considerable number of dignitaries, and several parochial incumbents possessed of respectable preferments, were also deprived by means of this test. But the great body of the clergy complied, and hence the acts recently passed were found to occasion much less confusion in the Church than could have been anticipated from alterations of so much importance[h]. The monastic establishments, however, were universally broken up[i];

[g] Bp. Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, obtained the see of Llandaff in 1545, when mitigated Romanism was the established religion of England. This he consented to exchange for the complete Protestantism of Edward's reign, and that again for the Popery of Mary's. He now gave up that faith once more; and accordingly he continued Bishop of Llandaff. He died in the year 1563. Godwin. de Præsul. 612.

[h] "In all, fourteen bishops were deprived, to whom may be added, one suffragan, Pursglove of Hull. The whole number of the clergy deprived at this time is thus described by a Romish dissenter, author of *A sincere, modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer*, published in 1583. He saith, "that in England were deprived fourteen bishops, besides three bishops elect, the abbot of Westminster, four priors of religious houses, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, above sixty canons of cathedral churches, not so few as a hundred priests of good preferment, fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, and above twenty proctors of divers faculties therein. I am willing to believe the computation of this author to be correct, because I find it to be so in the number of bishops and deans deprived. Of the three bishops elect deprived, I can recover the names but of two, *viz.* Thomas Rainolds, elect of Hereford, and Thomas Wood." Harmer, 152.

[i] "June the 12th, 1559, the friars of Greenwich were discharged, and went away." Strype, Annals, i. 210.

and Feria, the Spanish ambassador, endeavoured to prevent the several societies from dissolving, by requesting permission to transmit them into his master's dominions. After some difficulty, this request was granted, and the noble Spaniard generously received in his own house a considerable number of these recluses until he could procure them a passage to Flanders. Eventually three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the Continent[k]. The nuns, indeed, generally preferred expatriation to the breach of their vows; but many religious of the other sex returned to the habits of ordinary life[l]. Nor was the Count of Feria inattentive to the dispossessed secular clergy; and, when he left England, he took many of them in his train. These unfortunate ecclesiastics were kindly and liberally treated at the court of Spain; which thus obtained an additional hold upon the affections of English malcontents[m].

When first deprived, the bishops and clergy seem

[k] Ribadeneyra, 255.

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 619.

[m] Llegado (Feria) a la corte del Rey, Don Felipe, procurò con su Magestad, que los (Ingleses) amparasse, y favoreciesse, y sustentasse; y el Rey lo hizo con la liberalidad y piedad que a tan Catolico y gran principe convenia." (Ribadeneyra, 256.) Philip's liberality to these English refugees would merit unqualified praise, if England had not been much disquieted in Elizabeth's reign by the machinations of disaffected persons in correspondence with Spain. It being, however, the fact that Philip did thus embarrass the Queen's government, his relief and encouragement of her expatriated subjects might seem to have been partly dictated by worldly policy.

to have been allowed the free use of liberty. But they were naturally something impatient under their losses, and it is not improbable, that they felt considerable regret in witnessing the overthrow of that religious system in which their prejudices had been formed, which had once placed them in affluence, and for which they had consented to make no common sacrifices. On the 4th of December, accordingly, Heath, Boner, Bourn, Turberville, and Pool, gave vent to their feelings in an application to the Queen, signed with all their names. In this address, the subscribers entreat her Majesty's attention to them, as being Catholic clergymen of the realm, and they represent the changes accomplished under her father and brother as the fruits of schismatical and heretical advice. After the decease of Henry and Edward, say the memorialists, "your virtuous sister, Queen Mary, of happy memory, succeeded. Who, being troubled in conscience[n] with what her

[n] Queen Mary's contemporaries were not, however, unanimous in assigning her policy wholly to conscience. The following extract obligingly communicated by the Reverend Mr. Todd, from a MS. of Sir John Harington's in the library of York-minster, shews that some persons of discernment, living in her time, attributed that Queen's acts partly to policy. "Next after this (Edw. VIth's reign) ensued a great change of religion by Queen Mary's time, and the Church of Rome restored again into England with all manner of ceremonies. But what? Was this merely for zeal? Loth I am to wrong the name and memory of so noble a Queen, but I speak now in a cause that will suffer me to spare nobody. I say, therefore, that this change had a politic respect joined with it. I say, that the council and the chief of the clergy saw, that without the Pope's authority

father's and brother's advisers had caused them to do, most piously restored the Catholic faith" originally planted in this realm by the motherly care of Rome. She extinguished also, it is added, "the schisms and heresies which at that time began to flame over her territories: *For which God poured out his wrath upon most of the malefactors and misleaders of the nation.*" This impious libel upon the victims of an atrocious intolerance is followed by a reference to the case of Athanasius, by which it is absurdly sought to establish the papal supremacy. The subscribers conclude by praying that God would turn the Queen's heart and preserve her life; also that He would make her evil advisers ashamed, and repentant for their heresies [o].

This insolent, unfeeling, and futile address was brought to the Queen when presiding at a council, and before the assembly separated, a scornful and menacing answer was written to the discontented prelates. Englishmen, it was said in this, having been long under the tuition of Romish priests, "who

were authentical again in England, their sovereign lady could never be thought legitimate; and therefore, though the whole realm had been Protestant vi years, *and the same Protestants brought in the queen*, yet when the same matter came to so high a tenure not only *in capite*, but *in corona*, down again went the Protestants, married ministers banished and degraded, fifty thousand pounds rent restored to the Pope, and Gardiner, and his fellows did condemn to the fire a number of poor harmless souls that professed to believe as they were taught but three years before."

[o] Strype, Annals, i. 217.

advised them to own a wolf for their head, in lieu of a careful shepherd," had been miserably led astray amidst heresies, schisms, and human inventions. Reference was then made to authentic history to shew the falsehood of such assertions as attribute the planting of Christianity in the island to missionaries from Rome. As for the heretical and schismatical character assigned to King Henry's assumption of the supremacy: "who, we pray," it was asked, "advised him more, or flattered him, than you, good Mr. Heath, when you were Bishop of Rochester? And than you, Mr. Boner, when you were Archdeacon? And you, Mr. Turberville? Nay, farther, who was more an adviser of our father, than your great Stephen Gardiner, when he lived? Are not *ye* then these heretics and schismatics?" The late Queen's conduct arose, it was then said, not from her conscience, but from the bad advice of the memorialists and their friends. The resistance of Athanasius to the Roman see, it was observed, obviously made against the subscribers, who admitted the creed passing under that father's name, and would, therefore, surely not charge him with schism. In fine, the prelates were admonished to behave themselves more circumspectly for the future, lest they should bring down upon their heads that punishment which was provided against impugners of the royal authority [p].

This admonition, however, failed of its object. The deprived clergy, mortified by seeing that their

[p] This reply is dated December 6. Strype's Annals, i. 219.

defection had not succeeded in disorganizing the national Church, determined to try the effect of an active opposition. White, pontifically habited, began to preach sedition. Even Thirlby, though a man of peaceful temper, mounted the pulpit to denounce the Reformation [q]. Other movements, of which no particulars are known, had probably rendered the displaced Romish ecclesiastics objects of just suspicion to the government in the early part of 1560; for in the spring of that year the most conspicuous among these non-jurors were taken into custody. Boner was placed in the Marshalsea on the 20th of April, and he seems never to have regained his liberty. Of this, perhaps, he had no great reason to complain; for the popular abhorrence with which he was justly viewed, rather gained strength by time; the particulars of his atrocities becoming daily better known, and the Romish bigotry which had once formed some sort of excuse for them losing ground very fast. If at large he might therefore, it is far from unlikely, have been sacrificed in some ebullition of public execration. But although secluded from the public eye, the deprived Bishop of London lived in the free enjoyment of domestic comforts: the grosser convivial pleasures had, probably, been those at all times most agreeable to him, and amidst the unrestrained indulgence of such sensual habits, he luxuriously drained life to the dregs within the Marshalsea [r]. At the dis-

[q] Strype's Annals, i. 220.

[r] "Num non potius dum fata Deusque sinebant lepide, laute, secure, plena mensa, refertis lagenis victitabat, potius ut videatur crapula aliqua, quam corporis aut animi dolore periisse?" (Fide-

tance of a month after Boner's committal, Bishop Watson, as also the Doctors Cole and Chadsey, were imprisoned in the Tower. The same day consigned to the Fleet Dr. Story, the civilian; a man rendered unworthy of commiseration both by his activity in the last reign, and by his inflammatory impudence in this. None of the parties, however, incarcerated about this time, excepting Boner, appear to have been long detained within the walls of a prison; several of them being entrusted, after a short interval, to the liberal custody of dignified churchmen. Watson thus lived in the houses of two bishops successively; but his morose, unquiet disposition, effectually destroyed both his own happiness, and the confidence of the government in the peaceableness of his intentions. Hence it was found necessary, eventually, to deprive him completely of his liberty, and he died in Wisbeach Castle, in the year 1584[s]. On different days in June, Thirlby, Heath, Bourn, and Turberville, were sent to the Tower. Of these prelates Thirlby, after his release from prison, resided several years under the hospitable roof of Archbishop Parker, at Lambeth[t]. Heath was allowed to spend the evening of his days upon an estate which he had purchased at Cobham, in Surrey, where he lived handsomely, and was even honoured occasionally by

lis Servi Subdito Infideli Responsio, una cum errorum et calumniarum quarundam examine quæ continentur in 7. l. de Vis. Mon. Eccl. a N. Sandero conscripta. Lond. 1573.) Bp. Boner died Sept. 5, 1569. Godwin, de Præsul. 192.

[s] Godwin, de Præsul. 301.

[t] Bp. Thirlby died Aug. 26, 1570. Ibid. 273.

a visit from the Queen. Bourn was quartered upon Dr. Carew, Dean of Exeter; and in his house he died, in 1569.[x] Turberville was allowed to occupy a residence of his own. Pool, of Peterborough, was favoured in the same manner. Pates, Goldwell, and Scot, retired to the continent. White, Oglethorpe, Bayne, and Morgan, survived deprivation but a very short time. Excommunications were after awhile denounced against some of these displaced ecclesiastics; but this severity was, most probably, owing to some act of their own. The Queen was bent upon conciliation to the utmost of her power; and there can be no doubt, from the gentle usage experienced by all the non-juring prelates at first, and from the forbearance with which they were treated, even after they had provoked the government, that none of them would have been in any manner molested, could they have conformed themselves quietly to the circumstances in which they were placed by their own prejudices, or miscalculation. It may be said that they, probably, did nothing inconsistent with man's natural right to liberty of conscience; but it should be remembered, that even if such be the fact, they acted upon a right which no party in their day had learned to recognise. Nor, again, were their exertions in favour of Romanism by any means above suspicion. They had possessed valuable preferments, of which they had been deprived by no competent authority, according to their creed. Obviously,

[w] Abp. Heath died in 1579. Godwin, de Præsul. 710.
[x] Ibid. 388.

therefore, in struggling to restore the former ascendancy of this creed, their conduct might be looked upon as partly suggested by considerations which can challenge no very high degree of respect.

On the festival of St. John the Baptist, England was again and finally relieved from the mischief and disgrace of a Liturgy, which merely mocked an immense majority of her population[y]. Men went to church on that day to pray with the understanding, and they heard a service every way worthy of their grateful attention. It had originally been considered by the committee which reviewed the Common Prayer, whether, in kind consideration of Romish prejudices, the ceremonies abolished by King Edward's second book, should not now be restored; whether the image of the cross should not be retained, processions allowed, prayers for the dead introduced, and some other usages, grown venerable by time, yet be permitted to continue[z]? The inexpedience, however, of such concessions was quickly seen, and accordingly the Liturgy, as existing at the late Queen's accession, was again authorised, with a few alterations[a]. These were made chiefly with a view to

[y] The English service was introduced into the royal chapel on the 12th of May, being the first Sunday after the dissolution of Parliament. The review of the book was completed in the beginning of April.

[z] Strype, Annals, i. 120.

[a] A table of proper lessons for all Sundays in the year was added, and that for holidays completed. In the reading of the first chapter of St. Matthew, or the third of St. Luke, the genealogies were ordered to be omitted; and in leap-year, the psalms and lessons for the 23d day of February were to be used again

conciliate the Romish party, and in that object their success was far from inconsiderable. No Romanist indeed could, consistently with his principles, except against any part of the service. It was translated, in a great measure, from liturgical books used in the papal church; and those parts of it which are not found in any such volume, are either Scripture, or perfectly agreeable to the most approved models of devotion. Omissions were the sole occasions for Ro-

the day following; except it were on a Sunday, which had proper first lessons appointed in the table. The habits enjoined by the first book of King Edward were restored; and the morning and evening service were appointed to be said in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel; and the chancels were to remain, as in times past. The petition in the Litany, to be delivered *from the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*, was expunged, that no needless offence might be given to those of the Romish persuasion: and in that for the Queen, the words, *Strengthen them in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life*, were added. At the end of the Litany was inserted a prayer for the Queen, and another for the clergy, with the collect, *O God, whose nature and property*, &c. and the blessing out of 2 Cor. xiii. 14. And the second of the collects, now appointed to be used in time of dearth and famine, was omitted. In the Communion office, at the delivery of the elements, the form appointed in King Edward's first book, and that which was substituted in its stead in the second, were both joined together; and the declaration concerning the intention of the Church in requiring the people to receive it kneeling, was expunged. These were all the material alterations in the Liturgy during this reign. The correcting and perfecting the table of lessons for Sundays and holidays was indeed, in order of time, something later than the rest; but I thought it would be most proper to give the whole in one view." Appendix to Bp. Sparrow's Rationale, cxcviii.

mish discontent in the English service-book. But these were obviously reasonable, not only because capable of solid justification by liturgical antiquaries, but also because necessary for the satisfaction of a large, well-informed, and pious party in the country, whose feelings demanded attention, not less than those of adherents to the papal system. Opposition, accordingly, to the new offices of religion was openly made at first by neither party. To which ever side men's prejudices inclined, they all joined in the excellent service which was provided for their public worship. Nor did Englishmen who cherished a lingering affection for Rome desert their parish-churches until the Pope, by pretending to excommunicate and dethrone the Queen, infamously hurled the firebrand of fanatical sedition into the midst of the land[b]. From that unhappy time Romish recusancy dates its origin.

A royal visitation was another expedient adopted for the re-establishment of sound religion[c]. As under recent sovereigns, certain gentlemen, civilians

[b] "Until the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, no person of what persuasion of Christian religion soever, at any time refused to come to the public service celebrated in the Church of England, being evidently grounded upon the sacred and infallible Word of God, and established by public authority within this realm. But after the bull of Pius V. was published against her Majesty, in the 11th year of her reign, all they that depended on the Pope obeyed the bull, disobeyed their gracious and natural sovereign, and upon this occasion refused to come to church." Lord Chief Justice Coke's judgment upon Caudrey's case, *ap.* Pettus, 77.

[c] The commission for this visitation is dated June 24. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, ii. 485.

and divines, were commissioned by the crown to travel over prescribed circuits for the purpose of inspecting ecclesiastical affairs, administering the oath of supremacy, enforcing the regulations promulged for governing the Church, and dispensing religious instruction. These commissioners were furnished with a series of injunctions, and with articles of inquiry[d]: both formed upon models which had descended from King Edward's reign, and of which the principal objects were the extinction of Romish superstition, and the dissemination of elementary knowledge in religion. To the present injunction, was added an explanation of the oath of supremacy, intended to meet the Romish representation, that the sovereign assumed something of a papal character, in claiming an ecclesiastical superiority. This, in any layman, it was argued, is sufficiently incongruous, though it is more than ordinarily so in a child. Still, examples were numerous, and therefore notorious, of the admission of children to spiritual promotions[e], even of conspicuous dignity, in the Roman church. Hence it was easy to silence members of that communion who objected to King Edward's supremacy principally on account of his youth. But

[d] Printed in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, 67. 177.

[e] This abuse appears from the following article among the Queen's injunctions, to have been not unusual during recent years in England. "43. *Item.* Forasmuch as in these latter days *many have been priests being children*, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so that they could not read to say matins or mass; the ordinaries shall not admit any such to any cure or spiritual function." Ibid. 79.

with Elizabeth, the case was different. Children, indeed, had been cardinals, and there seems no sufficient reason, therefore, why they should be pronounced absolutely incapable of the popedom. This dignity, however, had never been occupied by a female, and moreover, persons of that sex are excluded from ministering in the Church by apostolic authority[f]. Thus an objection to the royal supremacy absolutely irrefragable appeared to be supplied by the sceptre's descent into female hands. Elizabeth prudently demolished such cobweb arguments, by declaring at the end of her injunctions, that she claimed no sort of jurisdiction which had not been exercised by her father and brother; that the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives by no means included the right of performing divine offices; and that no superiority was now ascribed to the throne which had not been of ancient time its due. It was easy to supply proofs and illustrations of these principles. Nor can we doubt, that since Jewel, Sandys, and other such men itinerated among the royal commissioners, information of this kind was freely dispensed over the country. These able divines found, indeed, ample employment for all their energies. The late reign, brief as it was, had sadly undermined, in many districts, the labours of England's original reformers, and strenuous exertions were now made by the Romanists in all directions to secure the ground which they had won by dint of so much artifice, industry, and cruelty. They considered that such

[f] 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.

efforts were alike demanded by their present credit and their future ease. For they sanguinely calculated upon the speedy arrival of some political change which would restore their lost ascendancy.[8]

As the most effectual provision against such a revulsion, was an early and judicious re-organisation of the hierarchy, this object was carefully considered among Elizabeth's more confidential advisers soon after her accession. For the see of Canterbury, Dr. Matthew Parker was selected. This eminent divine was born at Norwich in 1504, of parents descended from gentlemen's families, but his father was a wealthy manufacturer. The future Archbishop having reached the proper age, repaired to the university of Cambridge, and studying there at the time when Bilney, Latimer, Barnes, and other able men of scriptural principles were assaulting vigorously the Romish system, he too rose above the prejudices of his education. He did not, however, thus abandon early prepossessions until after a laborious course of theological enquiry. He diligently read the fathers, considered the decrees of councils, and in fine, omitted no exertions likely to store his mind with sound religious knowledge. His researches having led him to a firm conviction that the peculiar tenets of popery are the mere accumulation of medieval ignorance, he became a zealous advocate for the profession of such a faith as will bear to be fairly confronted in all its parts with Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity. This enlightened conduct recommended him

[8] Juellus ad P. Mart. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 363.

ed the patronage of Archbishop Cranmer, and of Anne Boleyn. To that unhappy lady, he was appointed chaplain, and by her means he obtained the deanery of Stoke-college, near Clare, in Suffolk. After the fall of his patroness, Parker was still honoured by royal favour; the King procuring his advancement to the mastership of Bene't-college, in Cambridge, and to a prebend of Ely. Within a short time of Edward's accession he married, and during that monarch's reign he was appointed Dean of Lincoln. As he would neither consent to dismiss his wife, nor dissemble his principles, he was deprived of all his preferments under Queen Mary, and compelled moreover to provide for his personal safety by keeping himself concealed. Upon one occasion, during that miserable reign, he found himself able to elude the myrmidons of persecution only by a precipitate flight under the cover of darkness. That anxious night left an indelible mark upon his frame; a severe injury then received by means of a fall from his horse proving incapable of a thorough cure. Elizabeth had no sooner ascended the throne than she determined upon raising Parker to some distinguished preferment, and he received a summons to court. His obedience was tardy and reluctant, for he had reason to believe, that some post of high distinction awaited him, and he desired nothing more than the means of spending a scholar's life in comfort and respectability. A morbid shyness, indeed, had ever rendered him averse from publicity, and the personal injury which he had received, joined to his inveterate appetite for literary pleasures, in-

creased his natural desire to pass through the world away from the busier haunts of men. But his learning and judgment were well known in his sovereign's cabinet. Such a man was urgently needed, and he found himself obliged to appear in the royal presence, not as the nominee to some respectable appointment in the University, which was the object of his wishes, but as the elect Archbishop of Canterbury. New and embarrassing cares now crowded upon him. The statute empowering the crown to exchange episcopal lands for impropriate tythes was acted upon very soon after it had passed. The endowments of every vacant prelacy being accurately surveyed: nor could there be any reasonable doubt, that, under the name of exchanges, new schemes of spoliation were to be expected. Parker, accordingly, and others who were marked out for professional advancement naturally dreaded lest they should be placed in situations demanding an expenditure utterly disproportioned to their means of meeting it. Vain, however, were all attempts to preserve the Church's patrimony entire. Other sources of anxiety were abundantly supplied to the Archbishop elect from the unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs in all their bearings. The hierarchy was dissolved, and the current of religious opinions directed into a channel from which it had been laboriously diverted. Hence important difficulties presented themselves to those who held the helm of state, and their chief clerical adviser was necessarily called upon to encounter great labour and responsibility. Happily, the prudence and other solid qualities of Parker

enabled him to discharge his arduous duties, in a manner which, though unostentatious, was admirably calculated for producing results of indefinite durability [h].

The designed primate, being seated at Lambeth, was required to receive the venerable and exemplary Bishop of Durham, who had reached the age of eighty-five, but who did not see November to its close. Before he sank into the grave, he held much interesting converse with his excellent entertainer. Though Tunstall eventually chose to follow his brethren in refusing to forswear the Pope once more, yet he agreed with Parker that the Roman bishops ought never to have been permitted to extend their authority beyond the limits of their proper city and province. He admitted also that no divine law forbids clergymen to marry; but in several articles of the Romish creed he could not be brought to make any concession [i]. He seems, however, to have long entertained very moderate opinions upon many questions which Romanists decide differently from other Christians. He took a Protestant view of justification [k]. He condemned also the precipitancy of In-

[h] Strype, Annals, ch. vi. Life and Acts of Abp. Parker, b. ii. As some vindication of Elizabeth's government respecting the pecuniary spoliations of episcopal endowments, it should be recollected, that the late Queen left considerable financial embarrassments to her successor.

[i] Parker, 552.

[k] "As appears by a book that he wrote and published *ann.* 1555, in quarto, *Contra Blasphematores Johannis Redmanni de Justificatione.* Which learned divine, Dr. Redman, did, on his

nocent III. in making transubstantiation an article of faith, imputing that judgment to the want of sufficient advice. "We ought," he said, "to imitate the fathers in speaking reverently of the Holy Supper, but it would have been better to abstain from asserting a substantial change in the elements[l]." Nor did he disapprove the English Liturgy; having pronounced it, in conversation with the learned Dr. Redmayn, "A holy book, and agreeable to the Gospel[m]."

It had been hoped, that Tunstall would assist at the consecration of his excellent host. The royal

death-bed, declare freely his judgment for justification by faith." For which, it seems, several Papists had railed against him after his death; and occasioned this learned bishop, even under Queen Mary, to take his part in the said book." Strype's Parker, i. 94.

[l] Letter from Bp. Tunstall's kinsman, Bernard Gilpin, cited by Strype, Annals, i. 213.

[m] Letter from Bernard Gilpin. Ibid. i. 116. That truly Apostolical clergyman, Bernard Gilpin, also mentions other concessions of eminent Romanists which fell under his personal observation, or came to his knowledge, and which powerfully tended to wean him from Popery. Chadsey, he tells us, once said: "The Protestants must grant to us a real presence, of Christ in the Sacrament, and we must yield to them in the matter of transubstantiation." Weston argued, upon one occasion, at great length, in favour of communion in both kinds. Morgan, a distinguished Romish scholar, informed Gilpin; that Dr. Ware, a celebrated divine of the same party, answered a question as to the sacrifice of the mass, by saying, that the principal sacrifice of the Church was one of thanksgiving; and that he likewise pronounced recent English confutations of the papal primacy perfectly satisfactory.

letters patent empowering the dean and chapter of Canterbury to elect a new archbishop were issued on the 18th of July, and they charge that capitular body to choose "a pastor who should be devoted to God, and useful and faithful, both to the Queen, and the realm;" but they recommend no particular individual[n]. The divine, however, intended by the court was, probably, sufficiently known, and therefore, such members of the chapter as could not, in conscience, or in unison with party-engagements, concur in his election, absented themselves at the time fixed for it. Dr. Wotton, the Dean, with four of the prebendaries attended at the time[o] and place appointed, and having observed all the customary forms, they chose Dr. Matthew Parker for their new Archbishop. This election being approved at court, and the object of it having consented to fill the see, authority for his consecration was granted, on the 9th of September, under the Queen's letters patent. These were directed to the Bishops Tunstall, Bourn, Pool[p], Kitchen, Barlow, and Scory: the first four

[n] Strype's Parker, i. 102.

[o] August 1. Ibid.

[p] The oath of supremacy was not offered to the clergy simultaneously, and it is not improbable, that with individuals highly preferred, who were thought likely to take it, some delay was intentional. Bp. Tunstall was not deprived until the 29th of September, Bp. Bourn, not before the end of October, and Bp. Pool, not until about the same time. (Le Courayer's Defence of the Validity of English Ordinations. Lond. 1728. i. 47.) Strype says that he saw a draught of the commission for consecrating Parker, in the State-paper office, in which the names of the

of whom are designated in the usual manner; the remaining two are merely styled bishops, they having lost their sees in the late reign. This commission was never carried into execution. Of the failure no reason is certainly known, but it probably arose from an indisposition to the oath of supremacy entertained by three of the prelates nominated. Another commission was, accordingly, issued on the 6th of December, enjoining Anthony Bishop of Llandaff, William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, now elect of Chichester, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, now elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, John of Bedford, and John of Thetford, suffragan bishops, or any four of them, to confirm and consecrate Dr. Parker [q]. This mandate, unlike the former one, contains an unusual clause, in which the Queen undertakes to supply, from her supreme authority royal, whatever legal deficiencies may attach to any of the parties officiating, from their condition, state, or powers [r]. Ob-

bishops intended to officiate had not been supplied, excepting that of Tunstall, which was inserted in the hand-writing of Abp. Parker: a plain proof that he calculated upon the venerable Bishop of Durham's services. Life of Abp. Parker, i. 107.

[q] Le Courayer, Records, i. 357.

[r] "Supplentes nihilominus suprema auctoritate nostra regia, ex mero motu ac certa scientia nostris, si quid aut in hiis quæ juxta mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos fient, aut in vobis, aut in vestrum aliquo, *conditione, statu, facultate vestris* ad præmissa perficienda desit, aut deerit eorum, quæ per statuta

viously this passage was inserted for the purpose of guarding against civil difficulties not unlikely to arise from the contemplated consecration. The prelates nominated were not merely called upon for the transmission of their own spiritual character to a particular individual, they were also to exercise this privilege in a case where a great mass of property, and numerous rights of great political importance were concerned. Now, the ecclesiastical persons officiating upon such occasions in England from time immemorial, had been themselves actual occupants of sees. If, therefore, in this particular instance, the whole course of precedents were heedlessly disregarded, it was highly probable, that legal objections would eventually be started against the civil acts of a beneficiary who had taken possession of his preferment under circumstances so completely unknown to the law. The crown, however, was willing, in this case, to accept, as the occupant of its chief ecclesiastical benefice a certain individual, he being rendered spiritually competent to the office, who would, probably, derive such competency through parties not ordinarily recognised by the constitution as dispensers of it. Such proved to be the fact, Parker was confirmed at the church of St. Mary le Bow, in London, on Saturday, the 9th of December, by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodg-

hujus regni, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt, temporis ratione, et rerum necessitate id postulante." Ibid. 358.

kins; the first three of whom were bishops actually unbeneficed, and the last had never filled any other than the suffragan prelacy of Bedford. There is most probably no other instance upon the national records in which an individual, consecrated by prelates not in possession of sees, was admitted to any portion of the crown's episcopal patronage. Hence it was no more than a proper precaution, that the royal patroness, herself the supreme depositary of civil authority, and the constitutional dispenser of relief in unforeseen cases where the letter of the law might interfere with its spirit, should solemnly declare beforehand, that she would invest the Archbishop elect with a vacant preferment which her ancestors had founded, and which was placed at her own disposal, even although he should obtain the necessary rank among Christian ministers from hands of which neither the statute, nor the ecclesiastical law of the realm, makes any mention. In the instrument, accordingly, which authentically records Parker's confirmation, this dispensing clause is recited word for word, as in the original. The four bishops then acting were employed upon a measure preliminary to the occupation of a benefice by another party. They were, therefore, bound to proceed in strict accordance with the principles of civil jurisprudence. When they came, however, to consecrate the confirmed elect, they took no notice of the Queen's dispensing clause[s]. Their business then was, the

[s] Le Courayer, i. 147. The clause *Supplentes* is inserted also in the record of Abp. Parker's inthronization. This again is an

transmission of a spiritual trust, over which, as such, the crown has no control. This important consecration was solemnized in the archiepiscopal chapel, at Lambeth, on Sunday, the 17th of December, Bishop Barlow being the principal officiating prelate, and the Bishops Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, his assistants. The ceremony was performed according to King Edward's ordinal.[1]

The Church of England thus having acquired a professional head, impediments in the way of completely re-organizing her hierarchy were removed. Of such facilities advantage being immediately taken, the Anglican establishment soon presented the spectacle of a religious society, apostolical in its constitution, and tenacious of such civil advantages as had been gradually accumulated, and might be reasonably retained; but which, notwithstanding, rejected both the papal usurpation, and medieval errors. The party, reduced to insignificance by this consummation, soon became clamorous in its discontents. The hierarchy, which had succeeded the miscalculating or conscientious non-jurors, naturally became the first object of attack, its members being represented as mere pretenders to the episcopal character. This representation was variously supported. Some of the discontented Romanists maintained, that consecrations effected in the time of schism, or, in other

act concerning property and civil franchises. A precautionary clause of similar import was ordinarily inserted in papal instruments. An instance of this usage in Cranmer's case may be seen in the present volume, p. 507.

[1] Registrum Parkeri.

words, in disregard or defiance of the papal authority, are invalid, unless subsequently ratified through a reconciliation with Rome. Others objected to King Edward's ordinal, as insufficient for the transmission of episcopacy. Now this formulary had been used in consecrating Scory and Coverdale. The remaining two prelates were consecrated under King Henry VIII. of course therefore by the Roman pontifical; but then their admission into the highest order of Christian ministers was posterior to their country's ecclesiastical emancipation; and Barlow certainly seems never again to have undergone the ignominy of a foreign yoke. These objections, however, to say nothing of their futility upon grounds acknowledged as conclusive against them by Romish divines, had been recently, to the apprehensions of all men not wilfully blind, refuted by the papal court itself. Heath, Boner, Thirlby, and other prelates of principles approved at Rome, had been consecrated since England renounced connexion with her. These dignitaries, however, were unreservedly recognised as bishops by the pontiff, and were only required to undergo a certain form of reconciliation. It is indeed true, that no bishop consecrated by King Edward's ordinal was thus admitted to minister episcopally under the Roman see; but this evidently arose from the fact, that no such prelate applied for reconciliation. Inferior ministers were indiscriminately reconciled upon their consenting to undergo the requisite formalities; no exceptions being taken against such as might have been ordained by persons set apart for the episcopate according to the new ser-

vice-book. The undistinguishing admission, therefore, of English ordinations on Pole's arrival among his countrymen, was a plain admonition to all contemporaries, that Romish canonists pretended not to dispute the validity of consecrations effected in the latter part of Edward's reign. The lapse of a few years brought forward, however, another objection to England's Protestant prelacy. Horne, Bishop of Winchester, acting upon the right to tender the oath of supremacy, statutably vested in his order, required that test of Boner, then confined in the Marshalsea, which is within his diocese. The requisition being met by a refusal, legal proceedings were instituted against the deprived prelate. Boner defended himself in the court of King's Bench as being incorrectly designated in the indictment, and as not bound to obey the summons which caused his trouble, inasmuch as the prosecutor assumed a jurisdiction appended to the see of Winchester, of which he was not the legal possessor. The grounds upon which Horne's episcopal authority were denied were both canonical and statutable. The former rested upon Boner's own view of papal jurisprudence, and the latter upon an omission in the act of uniformity. That law restored the English Liturgy, but it did not expressly name the ordinal. It was hence argued that the ordinal, having been abrogated in Parliament under Queen Mary, and not restored by name under her successor, plainly such ministers as had received their commissions by its means were not in a legal condition to exercise their functions. It was pretended, that all mention of the ordinal had been

designedly omitted in the act of uniformity; the Queen desiring to have the new prelates consecrated according to the Roman pontifical. But this view of the case is undoubtedly false. The ordinal was not mentioned in the act of uniformity merely because it was considered as an integral portion of the Book of Common Prayer. However, it was deemed expedient to obviate technical objections arising from this omission for the future, and accordingly, an act passed in 1566, recognising the validity of all ministerial admissions, which had been and which should be conducted by means of the received English ordinal [u]. Difficulties as to the exercise of rights contingent upon the possession of benefices were thus obviated. Questions as to the spiritual characters of the parties concerned were left by the act exactly where it found them. These, however, it was well known, were capable of an answer which a learned Romanist might be driven to admit as perfectly satisfactory.

This fact, so mortifying and embarrassing to plotting Romish emissaries, produced, at a convenient distance of time, a new mode of attacking English ordinations. A Jesuit, named Holywood, found impudence enough to publish, in 1604 [x], an account which denies that Parker and other clergymen, admitted to the exercise of episcopal rights about this time, ever were consecrated at all, according to any ordinal. This absurd and libellous romancer affirms,

[u] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 346. The prosecution against Boner was not allowed to continue.

[x] Le Courayer, ii. 57.

that the individuals in question merely met at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, and there received some sort of summary commission at the hands of Scory. Ridiculous, and manifestly senseless as was such an account, first related at the end of forty-five years, of an occurrence so important as Archbishop Parker's admission to the episcopate, it was greedily swallowed among the Romanists. Fitz-Simon and Persons, also Jesuits, immediately gave additional currency to it. Kellison, who had written against the English Reformation in 1603, and who, therefore, unfortunately for the amusement of his admiring readers, had been then unable to gratify them by this legend, introduced it into a controversial piece, which he published in 1608 [y]. Soon after him Champney gave a new version of it in a work which he wrote against Mason [z]. The tale being

Kellison seems to have been half ashamed of Holywood's offspring, though he thought that policy required him to patronise it; for he thus cautiously introduces it to his readers. "*I have heard credibly reported,* that some of them were made bishops at the Nag's Head, with no other ceremony than laying the English Bible on their heads." Le Courayer, ii, 146.

[z] "In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign," says Champney, "upon the testimony of several writers, the Catholic bishops being deposed and imprisoned, as shall be seen hereafter, others were to be ordained and substituted in their places. They who were nominated and elected to this dignity, met at London, by appointment, at the sign of the Nag's Head, in Cheapside; thither likewise, upon invitation, came the Bishop of Llandaff, grown decrepid by reason of his age, and a simple, timorous man, from whom the new candidates expected ordination; but Boner, Bishop of London, then in prison upon the account of religion, hearing of it, threatened Llandaff with excommuni-

fairly launched among bigots and libellers, found a reception which must have astonished all those who

cation if he ordained them; who being terrified by this message, and perhaps being inwardly touched with the stings of conscience, drew back and refused to lay his hands upon them, alleging the weakness of his eyes as the cause. The new candidates, being thus deceived in their expectations, and thinking themselves imposed upon, began to revile the old man, whom they had before treated with a great deal of reverence and respect, some of them saying, *This fool believes we cannot be made bishops unless we are greased with oil*, ridiculing as well the old bishop as this Catholic custom in consecration. But being thus deprived of a consecrator, they were forced to seek for a new expedient, and they had recourse to Scory, an apostate monk, for their ordination, who under Edward VI. had usurped a bishopric without any consecration, as shall be made to appear hereafter. This man, who had, together with his religious habit, put off all conscience, soon performed what they desired, using this ceremony: they all kneeling before him, and he laying the Bible upon the head of each of them, said, *Receive power to preach the Word of God sincerely*: and thus they all rose up bishops. Champney adds, that he had this account from one named Thomas Bluet, who received it himself from Thomas Neal, then an officer of Bp. Boner's, who was sent by Boner to the Bishop of Llandaff, to forbid him to proceed further upon pain of excommunication, and to be a witness of what passed there: which was thus as it is here related." (Le Courayer, i. 32.)

As usual among the retailers of such idle hearsays, the parties to whom Romanists owe the gratification of this legend, do not agree in the particulars of it. Holywood says, that Scory consecrated the candidates by means of the imposition of hands. This, however, appears to have been subsequently considered as too near the customary form. Fitz-Simon, accordingly, relates, that Scory took the candidates by the hand, and bade them rise bishops. Champney's improved version has just been given at length, and it may be worth while to observe, that there are no

were cognisant of its birth. Romanists repeated and Protestants refuted it, just as if it wore even a semblance of probability. Hence a story, which its inventors must originally have been hopeless of seeing any where but in some angry ephemeral pamphlet, and perhaps in some jest-book besides, has obtained a prominent place in grave works of history and theology. Romish authors, of any character, have indeed been long since beaten into an abandonment of this contemptible fiction, and it is now, therefore, become little more than a literary curiosity. As such, however, it may, possibly, be still worthy of a brief examination.

The first stage of an enquiry into remote events,

small difficulties upon the very face of it. None of the Catholic bishops, as they are called, were in prison even at the real date of Parker's consecration in December. September is the month assigned to the Nag's Head consecration, and then some of the old bishops were not even deprived. Kitchen could have no great fear of a Popish excommunication, in September, for he had then either taken the oath of supremacy, or had no doubt made up his mind to take it. He, therefore, lived in daily danger of this penalty, from that cause. As for Boner's alleged wrath, it might easily have been eluded by pitching upon the chapel at Lambeth for the proposed consecration. The deprived Bishop of London could make no pretence to jurisdiction over that spot; the archiepiscopal residence being subjected to the see of Canterbury. It is, besides, rather extraordinary, that the hostile Bishop's messenger should have been allowed to witness the proceedings at the Nag's Head: especially since the parties concerned in them were so little scrupulous as to their character; and it is yet more extraordinary that this account should have been obstinately kept from the world during five-and-forty years of angry controversy.

of importance is obviously an examination of public records. These establish all the facts relating to Archbishop Parker's consecration in the fullest and most satisfactory manner. Not only is the whole of these particulars recorded in his register at Lambeth, but also another statement of them is preserved among the valuable collection of books which he bestowed upon Bene't college, in Cambridge. It is true, that appeals to these documents were answered, at the outset of the controversy, by bold imputations upon their genuineness. But these pretended doubts were, after a struggle, hushed in shame and silence. Both the archiepiscopal registers, and the collection at Cambridge are open to inspection. They have, accordingly, been repeatedly examined, and no scrutiny has ever detected in them the smallest appearance of unfair dealing. Archbishop Abbot [a] invited four Romanists, three of whom were Jesuits, to inspect Parker's register, in the presence of himself, and of certain other prelates; and the hostile examinants found themselves unable to confirm the alleged suspicions of their party. An application made, indeed, soon afterwards for the temporary loan of the register, was very properly refused; and that rebuff was artfully created into a pretence for continuing to throw doubts upon the integrity of the Lambeth records. This pertinacity, however, could only serve a temporary turn. It was obviously the duty of persons

[a] Abp. Abbot filled the see of Canterbury from 1611, to 1633. Le Neve, 9.

entrusted with the custody of important records to take care that they should not leave a place of security: those who desired to see them being bound to rest satisfied with an inspection in their proper receptacle. The manifest truth of this, and the repeated examinations which Parker's register has satisfactorily undergone, have at length extorted universally from Romanists an acknowledgment that the Archbishop's consecration was strictly conformable to the statement of respectable writers. No author, indeed, whatever might be the profundity

[b] Probably the last solemn examination of Parker's register was made for the satisfaction of Le Courayer, in February, 1722, in presence of four witnesses, two of whom were Romanists. This ended, like all former inspections, in the unanimous conviction of the parties present, that the entry in question was made at the time assigned to it. There is, indeed, no ground whatever for throwing the slightest shade of suspicion upon this. Abp. Parker's register is a book evidently written during his primacy, and the entry recording his consecration, is in the hand used at that period, and bears every appearance of having formed from the first an integral portion of the book. The objection made, at the outset of this ridiculous controversy, that the record of Parker's consecration was not produced until many years after the event, is plainly futile. There are no doubt many things recorded in the archiepiscopal registers of higher antiquity than this famed consecration, of which no public notice has ever hitherto been taken. If, however, some particular circumstance were to draw any such entry from its obscurity, who would not laugh at an objector who should say, that the alleged fact must have happened, if at all, four centuries ago, and therefore, is incapable of proof by means of a record produced now for the first time? The reason why the Lambeth entry was produced so late was manifestly no other than because the Jesuits had not invented earlier their ridiculous calumny.

of his impudence, would have ventured, it is probable, upon such a senseless figment as the Jesuits set afloat in the reign of King James, had it not then been believed, that there was no longer any danger of contradiction from living witnesses of respectability. This belief, however, proved to have been rashly entertained. The legend of the Nag's Head tavern had no sooner been drawn from the Jesuitic arsenal, than a witness of high rank stepped forward to confound the calumnious caricaturists. The Earl of Nottingham, who was present at Archbishop Parker's consecration in the chapel of Lambeth-house, had not departed from life on the appearance of Holywood's figment, and he, of course, contradicted it immediately [c]. But this mortification did not for a long time abash the papal partizans, and they went on with their tale, until at last, no man could be found with face enough to profess a belief in it. Since that time, Romish illiberality has been driven to other modes of attacking the validity of English ordinations. It is no longer pretended in any quarter, that the Nag's Head tavern was otherwise connected, as to facts, with Archbishop Parker's admission to the episcopate, than as it might be the place appropriated to the dinner usually given upon such occasions. Nor is it alleged that Scory was the principal officiating bishop in the chapel at Lambeth. Authentic records have con-

[c] Concio ad Clerum, habita coram Acad. Cantab. Jun. Id. 1687, a T. Browne, S. T. B. Cant. 1688. p. 32. This statement is made upon the contemporary authority of Mason.

vinced all the world, that Barlow presided at the august solemnity which for the first time placed a declared Protestant in the see of Canterbury. But then, it has been said, Barlow was no bishop himself, and therefore could not convey the episcopal character to another. For a proof of this new charge we are again referred to the records at Lambeth. In them the entry of Barlow's consecration does not appear, and hence it has been assumed, that he never received that rite at all. But this argument is frivolous. It is well known that there are many omissions in ancient records for which posterity cannot account, and yet no man doubts as to the reality of facts which ought properly to be registered in such documents, but which, for some unknown reason, are not stated in their pages, if there be other proofs sufficient to establish them. Gardiner's consecration is not recorded in the Canterbury registers[d]; yet no man doubts that the celebrated Bishop of Winchester was truly admitted to the episcopate. Any such sceptic might, indeed, soon be reduced to silence by a mass of irrefragable circumstantial evidence. Barlow's case is the same. Proofs that he was recognised as a bishop are numerous, and perfectly irresistible. Indeed to suppose any thing else is a palpable absurdity; and Queen Mary's government, accordingly, admit his episcopal character without any reserve in the instru-

[d] Le Courayer, i. 52. The Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted, by D. Williams. Lond. 1721, p. 44. There are other such omissions in the registers.

ments connected with his resignation of the see of Bath and Wells [e]. Equally certain is the episcopal ordination of the three remaining individuals concerned in Parker's consecration; and as this point has been established at very considerable length, no man now pretends to doubt it. The more ignorant and pertinacious papal controversialists are, however, even yet inclined to impugn the sacerdotal character dispensed in the English Church. They represent that Parker's consecrators, as being three of them unbeneficed prelates, and the fourth a mere suffragan, whose see was not then in use, were disqualified from the due exercise of episcopal ordination [f]. Now as to the employment of a suffragan, considered by itself, its perfect unimportance was demonstrated by a long course of precedents [g]. That any privilege of order belonging regularly to such a minister could be annihilated by his actual want of an episcopal appointment, is undoubtedly

[e] See them among the records in Le Courayer's first volume, p. 378, *et sequ.*

[f] This idle objection appears to have been lately revived in a controversial work published in France, by the Bishop of Aire. See Faber's Difficulties of Romanism. Lond. 1826, p. 318.

[g] "The archbishops, in taking other bishops to their assistance in the consecration of bishops, or in giving commissions to the other bishops to consecrate in their stead, made no difference between suffragan and diocesan bishops. So that I could produce above twenty examples of the consecration of diocesan bishops in England, within two hundred years of the Reformation, performed with the assistance of suffragan bishops, and that when the canonical number of consecrators was not complete without them." Harmer, 156.

false. It is certain that neither Hodgkins, nor any one of his three coadjutors, was disqualified from ordaining a Christian bishop from the want of a benefice. As no doubt could be entertained upon this head by any scholar acquainted even moderately with ecclesiastical affairs, the facilities offered by Ireland for the employment of beneficed prelates in Parker's

As the Bishop of Aire could not fail of knowing this, he has started another objection to the validity of Parker's consecration. The Archbishop, he says, was insufficiently consecrated, because "neither the patriarch of the West, nor the bishops of the province, acting by his authority, as required by the fourth canon of the first council of Nice, had ordained, and confirmed such consecration." (Faber, *ut supra.*) The canon mentioned declares it to be by all means proper, that all the episcopal suffrages in a province should concur in electing a new bishop, three prelates at least being present at the place of election; and that the choice should await the metropolitan's confirmation. By the patriarch of the West, the Pope is no doubt intended. But it is contrary to all evidence to believe that the British Church had ever admitted her inclusion within the Roman patriarchate during the first six centuries of the Christian æra. Now by the sixth canon of this first Nicene council bishops are interdicted from interfering in regions without the limits of the jurisdiction anciently appended to their sees. Within the province of Canterbury, however, the Roman bishop never had any authority compatible either with the laws of England, or with the early canons of the Catholic Church. His interference in our island was at all times, demonstrably, an usurpation. At the time when Parker was consecrated, all the bishops, except one, beneficed within the province of Canterbury were very properly deprived of their preferments, because they had refused a test alike in unison with the constitution of their own country, and with that of the Catholic Church. Still ancient usages were not neglected, for there were certain other bishops formerly ordained within that province, but then unbeneficed, and they concurred in the new metropolitan's elevation.

consecration were overlooked. In that island three of the archbishops, and five of the bishops, took the oath of supremacy, and conformed to the English Liturgy. There could have been no difficulty in obtaining the services of a sufficient number of these prelates. But the constitution of their Catholic Church required not their intervention: unbeneficed prelates, adequately numerous for the desired end, being upon the spot. By their means, it is undeniable, that the Protestant prelacy of England has canonically derived its commission in one unbroken stream from the most venerable period of ecclesiastical antiquity. Nor has either the Church of Rome, in her collective capacity [k], or some of her most illus-

Viz. the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam; the Bishops of Ferns, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Killaloe. The Clergy of the Church of England truly ordained, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Elrington, D.D. late Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Dubl. 1808, p. 54. Le Courayer, ii. 129.

[k] This appears from the powers for reconciling the English clergy granted by Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, from an overture, hereafter mentioned, made by Pius IV. and from the absence of any solemn decision militating against the principle of these acts. A practice has indeed obtained among Romish prelates of re-ordaining English clergymen who pass over to the papal communion; but it is understood that this usage is chiefly cautionary. The legend of the Nag's Head tavern, and other such libellous absurdities, found in the writings of English incendiaries, who lived about the time of the Reformation, are all that the generality of readers, professing Romanism, know respecting the ecclesiastical emancipation of our island. The heads, accordingly, of the papal Church admit, that they have not accurately studied the circumstances of the Anglican establishment, and that they are therefore unable to decide satisfactorily upon its usages.

trious members individually, ventured to question a fact so satisfactory both to the English clergy, and to those who value their professional services[l].

Within three days of their ministerial appearance at Archbishop Parker's consecration, Barlow and Scory were confirmed in the sees of Chichester and Hereford[m]. On the following day, being the festival of St. Thomas, these two prelates assisted their new metropolitan, in his chapel at Lambeth, at the

Hence they re-ordain clerical converts from England, for the sake of escaping the possibility of error. See Le Courayer, ii. 38, *et sequ.*

[l] "As to the affair of England," says Bossuet, "besides the doubt concerning their first bishops, who were the authors of the schism, there is a great one arises from the time of Cromwell; at which time, it is pretended, that there was an interruption in the succession of their ordination. The English maintain the contrary; and as to the succession at the beginning of the schism, they maintain that there is no difficulty, *and therein they seem to be in the right.*" (Ibid. i. 5.) Upon another occasion the famous Bishop of Meaux said, "If the episcopal succession in Cromwell's time be well proved, which is a point that has not been sufficiently examined by me, the English bishops and priests are as truly ordained as our own." (Ibid. ii. 36.) Cudsemius also, "a violent Papist, who came into England in the year 1608, much about the time when their famous Nag's Head story was invented, is so sincere as to own our ordinations to be regular. His words are these: *As to the state of the Calvinistical sect in England, it is so formed as either to last a great while, or else to be changed on a sudden; because of the Catholic order there is a perpetual series of bishops, and a lawful succession of pastors received of the Church; for the honour of which we are wont to call the English Calvinists by a milder name, not heretics, but schismatics.*" Williams's Success. of Prot. Bish. 53.

[m] Strype's Parker, i. 126. Godwin, de Præsul. 513.

consecration of four bishops. The suffragan Hodgkins again officiated upon this occasion. The individuals now admitted to the episcopate were Edmund Grindal, appointed to the see of London; Richard Cox, formerly King Edward's tutor, to that of Ely; Edwin Sandys, to that of Worcester; and Rowland Meyrick, to that of Bangor. These consecrations being effected by means of beneficed prelates, all the requisites for which the law had been accustomed to look in persons advanced to bishoprics were observed, and consequently the dispensing clause used in Parker's case was omitted; nor did it appear in any subsequent appointment to the prelacy[n]. On the 21st of January five more bishops

[n] Le Courayer, ii. 359. Strype, (Parker, i. 109.) affirms, that the clause *Supplentes* was inserted in all the royal letters patent for the making of bishops until the year 1566, when the act was passed which recognized consecrations, effected by King Edward's ordinal, as valid for English purposes. But this appears to be a hasty notion adopted by the venerable biographer, from his impression that the clause was meant to supply any technical defects which might be alleged against the service. A suspicion of any such defects never could have been entertained by the profound theological critics to whom Elizabeth looked for ecclesiastical advice. Their view of the case is not, however, matter of speculation. Le Courayer *(ut supra)* has published references to Rymer, from which it appears, that the clause *Supplentes* is only found in the instruments relating to Parker. The frivolous objection to the ordinal started by Boner at a subsequent period, had most probably suggested itself to no man's ingenuity at the date of Parker's consecration. It bears indeed every appearance of a device excogitated by legal subtlety for the purpose of a particular forensic defence. Such a plea having, however, made its appearance, it was obviously required of the Legislature, that pre-

were consecrated; namely, Thomas Young, to the see of St. David's; Nicholas Bullingham, to that of Lincoln; John Jewel, to that of Salisbury; Richard Davis, to that of St. Asaph; and Edmund Guest, to that of Rochester. On the 2d of March provision was made for the spiritual wants of the northern province, by the consecration of James Pilkington to the see of Durham, and of John Best to that of Carlisle[o]. In the course of this winter also were solemnized several ordinations of priests and deacons. Still it was found impossible adequately to supply the churches, and therefore it was deemed advisable to adopt an extraordinary expedient. In particular situations several cures were temporarily committed to the charge of a single clergyman, who was to divide his ministrations among them; the churches from which he was absent being opened for the reading of the Common Prayer, and a homily, by a deacon, *if possible*, or if not, by some grave layman. Such lay reader, however, was to be restrained from preaching, administering the sacraments, or marrying[p].

A short time before, Jewel, the learned, eloquent, and amiable apologist of the Church of England, obtained episcopal consecration, he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in presence of the civic officers, many persons of rank, and a very numerous assemblage of

cautions should be provided against embarrassing questions likely to flow from it in future.

[o] Strype's Parker, i. 127.

[p] Ibid. 131.

ordinary hearers. His discourse was principally levelled against a belief in the antiquity of such principles and usages as distinguish Romanism from other forms of Christianity. He pursued this object with a degree of intrepidity, which occasioned surprise even to many whose opinions agreed with his own. Those who differed with him were naturally both startled and offended by the boldness of his language: nor could people generally avoid a suspicion, that his zeal had to some extent outrun his discretion. These murmurs of the one party and apprehensions of the other, found their way to the spirited preacher's ears; but he heeded them not. In the following spring he repeated his sermon, with the addition of some observations upon the sort of notice which it had received; complaining, that although private assailants had extensively animadverted upon his arguments, no scholar had publicly encountered him in the lists of controversy[q]. The most remarkable feature in his discourse was a challenge to the Romish party. "If," said Jewel, "any learned man among our adversaries, or if all their learned men alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any ancient father, or out of any ancient general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, that there was private mass in the whole world within the first six hundred years after Christ, then

[q] November 26, 1559. Strype's Grindal, 40.
[r] Ibid.

I am content to yield and to subscribe. Also, if any such proof can be brought of communion ministered under one kind; or that the people, in their public prayers used a tongue which they understood not; or that the Bishop of Rome was called an universal bishop, or head of the universal church; or that the people were then taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally present in the Sacrament; or that Christ's body is, or may be, in a thousand places, or more, at one time; or that the priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head; or that the people did then fall down and worship the Sacrament with godly honour; or that the Sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy; or that in the Sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents and shews, without the substance of bread and wine; or that the priest then divided the Sacrament into three parts, and afterward received all himself alone; or that whosoever had said the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged an heretic; or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church in one day; or that images were set up in churches, to the intent that the people might worship them; or that the lay people were then forbidden to read the Word of God in their own tongue; or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence unto himself; or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father;

or that the priest had then authority to receive the Sacrament for others; or that the priest had then authority to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass; or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people, that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sins; or that then any Christian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God; or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament as long as the accidents of bread remain there without corruption; or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ; or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word *Hoc* pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some say; or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine, are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the bread and wine themselves; or that the Sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it; or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience[s]." These twenty-seven

[s] A Reply unto M. Harding's Answer; by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. Lond. 1566. Bp. Jewel was forty years of age on his advancement to the see of Salisbury. He was a native of Devonshire, and his academical education was received at Oxford. He was noted for his zealous attachment to scriptural principles under King Edward; but his horror of the stake impelled him to a transient profession of Romanism in the next reign. This compliance was, however, merely the result of physical weakness, and he hastened to escape from a land, in which he could not live without renouncing his faith. Having reached the Continent,

articles, of which the bulk are authentically promulged in the Church of Rome as incontestable revelations from heaven, and of which there is no one that has not been maintained by papal writers of established authority, Jewel asserted were all of them utterly unknown, or at least unacknowledged as any part of their creed, among Catholic Christians during the first six centuries of our æra. Nor would he hesitate, he solemnly declared, if the converse of his assertion could be proved by means of undeniable evidence, to abandon the religious principles which he had adopted, and to sue for a reconciliation with Rome. But he professed to feel himself bound, as a cautious enquirer into divine truth, to reject such articles of faith as he could neither find in the New Testament, nor among the earliest monuments of the Catholic Church. If, therefore, he argued, his choice was wrongly made, it was a diligent examination of authorities, apparently most worthy of his reliance, that had led him astray. "O Austin! O Jerome! O Cyprian! O Athanasius! O Irenæus! O Polycarp! O Peter! O Paul! O Christ," he eloquently exclaimed, "if we are deceived, it is you that have deceived us!"[1]

So great was Bishop Jewel's well-founded confidence in his intellectual resources, that he closely followed up his famous challenge by another literary

he resumed his Protestant character, and on his return to England, soon after Elizabeth's accession, his profound erudition, and splendid abilities immediately recommended him to the royal patronage.

[1] Three Conv. ii. 296.

assault upon Romanism yet more celebrated. His object in this new work was defensive, and he accomplished his task with that modest brilliancy of style, force of argument, and judicious display of learning which can only result from a rare combination of exalted genius, ably-directed industry, and sound discretion. The Apology for the Church of England, in which these eminent qualities are employed to the best advantage, opens with some spirited observations upon the calumnies and opposition which truth has ever encountered in the world. It is hence argued, that Protestants ought contentedly to undergo the odious imputations which their adversaries incessantly cast upon them. Nor, it is added, ought these to remain riveted in their existing opinions if they should see strong reasons adduced for thinking favourably of their opponents, their own unlimited claims to antiquity being at the same time dashed from their hands. The impropriety of lightly branding men as heretics is shewn from what occurred in the early ages of the Church, when the principles of Christianity were denounced by Pagan enemies as nothing else than a pernicious heresy. Questions as to doctrine are to be decided, it is maintained, by the aid of citations from the fathers, by means of appeals to Scripture. Let enquiries be addressed to the Apostles, to the Prophets, to Christ himself. A conscientious reference to these authorities had guided, the apologist affirms, himself and those who shared his opinions, in defining the articles of their faith. These, every where citing Scripture and the fathers, he thus explains,

We believe the Trinity, and the Son's incarnation, sufferings, satisfaction, resurrection, and ascension; by which last event, his body is withdrawn from earth until the final judgment, although his divinity and majesty overspread the whole face of creation. We believe a Church, not like that of Judaism, intended for a single nation, but destined to embrace the world, of which the ministers are bishops, priests, and deacons, all acting in subservience to Christ, the head; who, being ever present with his faithful people, neither needs an earthly substitute, nor has appointed one. We believe that all the apostles were endued with equal power, and sent abroad with the same commission; that, in like manner, all bishops administer a similar authority, neither the Roman nor any other see being justified in claiming a paramount jurisdiction. The privilege of ministering in the Church is restricted to such as have been lawfully called to it, all intrusions into sacred offices at the mere will of individuals themselves being condemned. A legitimate sacerdotal vocation is said to confer the rights of binding, loosing, opening, and shutting: these operations being understood to mean, not a power to act in the confessional, according to Romish usages, but to cheer true repentance by the offer of God's mercy; to re-admit notorious offenders, now sincerely grieving for their faults, into communion with their brethren; to denounce divine vengeance against obstinate wickedness, and unbelief; and to exclude persons obnoxious to these charges from the Church, by means of public censures. Knowledge of the

Scriptures is the key by which ministers are thus to shut and open the heavenly kingdom. In men of every kind and station, matrimony is pronounced holy and honourable. To the canonical Scriptures of both Testaments an unqualified assent is given, as the supreme arbiters of religious knowledge; it being added, that against them is to be heard neither law, nor tradition, nor custom, nor Paul himself, nor even an angel from heaven. We receive, the apologist continues, certain sacred signs, termed sacraments, instituted by Christ as means of placing before our eyes, the mysteries of our salvation, of confirming our faith in his blood, and of sealing his grace in our hearts. These we call with Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Austin, Jerome, and other Catholic fathers, figures, signs, symbols, types, antitypes, forms, seals, resemblances, images, memorials. In the Lord's Supper we plainly declare, that the body and blood of Christ are truly presented to the faithful, being a food from above infusing life into the soul, affording the nutriment of immortality, and joining men with the Saviour, so that he dwells in them, and they in him. Of sacraments, two only are acknowledged as properly so called, namely Baptism and the Eucharist; the former being for the remission of sin, and therefore fitly open to all believers, and to their children also, as being born in sin; the latter, for a memorial of Christ's death, and of our redemption, as well as for supplying a nurture to our faith, similar to that which bread and wine supply to our bodies. To this heavenly feast all are to be invited, nor is any one, according to the ancient

fathers, and the early bishops of Rome, to remain merely as a spectator during the administration of the Eucharist. In that heavenly mystery, although we admit the true receiving by faith of Christ's body and blood, yet we reject all those varying dreams, by which it has been asserted that the sacramental elements undergo a substantial change. We maintain, on the contrary, that the bread and wine lose not their proper natures by means of consecration, the change effected being wrought in the believing communicant, not in the substances which he receives. All trafficking in masses, together with the processional employment, and adoration of the bread, we utterly condemn as idolatrous, and blasphemous follies, introduced into the Church by the Roman bishops, without authority from Scripture, the fathers, or any ancient precedent. The practice of these prelates in going about preceded by the sacramental bread we can only compare to the heathen usages of carrying in processions the sacred fire, and the emblems of Isis. We deride also the silly belief of a power in the priesthood to apply the merits of our Saviour's passion. It is our own faith, and not the sacramental act of another, which conveys this benefit to our souls. From this our opinion, that sacraments, unless faithfully received, profit not the living, it will follow, that we deny their beneficial operation upon the dead. Purgatory also, though long mentioned among Christians, but in a various, hesitating, and contradictory manner, we reject as a senseless and anile figment. Unnecessary ceremonies we have retrenched, as being burthensome, and,

to some consciences, offensive; but we have retained such as have apostolic authority, and such also as appear compatible with the Church's utility. Our prayers are offered in the language which is universally understood, according to the direction of St. Paul, and to the usage of all antiquity. The only mediator whom we acknowledge is Jesus Christ; addresses made to all others being an usage plainly heathenish, and a reproach to the Christian profession. To the sacrifice of Calvary alone do we look as the propitiation for our sins, and this, accordingly, we consider the sole ground of our faith; but we are far from holding that we are thereby excused from moral obedience: on the contrary, we believe, that a true faith cannot be idle, and that he who possesses it is ever careful to perform good works. Having thus explained the leading principles of Protestant belief, Jewel proceeds to justify a separation from the Roman church. Objections urged against the separatists as a body, because among them existed not absolute uniformity of opinion, and because some of them held pernicious tenets, he proves to be destitute of solidity: a disposition to range themselves under particular leaders, having prevailed even among converts in the apostolic age, and having ever prevailed to a very great, often, indeed, to an embarrassing extent, among professed Romanists. Fanatical or seditious principles entertained by a few of those who have deserted the papal communion, can be no reproach, he argues, to the great bulk of such dissentients, inasmuch as they have notoriously disclaimed and

endeavoured to suppress the reprobated errors. The apologist then proceeds to touch upon admitted abuses in the Roman church, and upon the seeming hopelessness of adequate remedies for these evils within her pale. Hence he concludes, that England is manifestly justified in seeking, of her own authority, conscientiously and deliberately exercised, that reform of her spiritual affairs, for which competent judges have long been impatient, but which appears impracticable under sanction of the papal see [u].

Dr. Henry Cole, lately Dean of St. Paul's, was the first antagonist called forth by Jewel's attacks upon Romanism. He made a shew of accepting the challenge, but he ventured no farther into the controversy than to write a few civil letters, which drew from the highly-gifted Bishop of Salisbury equally civil replies. After Cole, Rastall, Dorman, and Marshall severally attacked the learned challenger. The most remarkable of his opponents, however, was Dr. Thomas Harding, like himself a native of Devonshire, a graduate of Oxford, and an active Protestant in the reign of King Edward [x]. Harding then was chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and he displayed all the zeal against popery which might naturally have been expected in one patronized by that reforming peer. In his sermons he ridiculed the paper walls and painted fires of purgatory; inveighed against Rome as the sink of Sodom, against the mass as a heap of idolatry, and the mystery of

[u] The *Apology* appeared in 1562, but it was written in the preceding year. Strype's Annals, i. 424.

[x] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 302.

iniquity; and he once concluded these declamatory specimens of pulpit polemics, by expressing a wish for a voice powerful as the great bell of Oseney[y], that he might ring the truth into the dull ears of deaf papists[z]. Up to King Edward's demise, this earnest affection for a scriptural faith discovered no symptom of abatement. A short time before Queen Mary's accession, he exhorted a London congregation by no means to waver in the profession of Protestantism should persecution arise; that being a mode which God uses to try the steadfastness of his people in the good principles which have been implanted in their hearts[a]. When, however, the new government, with the stake in one hand and preferment in the other, was firmly established, Harding quickly discerned the expedience of offering his rhetoric to the papal party. His conversion being favorably received, he was rewarded by the treasurership of Salisbury[b]. Unfortunately for him, and other such calculators, a very brief ascendancy was reserved for the principles which they had adopted under circumstances of such strong suspicion. The course which they generally pursued in this dilemma has been

[y] Formerly an abbey on the western side of Oxford. At the dissolution, its church was made the cathedral of the new diocese of Oxford. Harding appears to have delivered some of these rhetorical attacks from the university pulpit: others from that of St. Paul's Cross.

[z] Conclusion to Jewel's Answer to Harding, upon the Challenge.

[a] Foxe, 1291. The martyrologist says, that when he published his book, many persons were alive who heard these words from Harding's lips.

[b] To which he was collated July 17, 1555. Le Neve, 271.

already seen, and a most happy one it proved for the Church. Numerous important preferments possessed by men, whose principles were at best equivocal, were thus left open for individuals who had exhibited more consistency. Harding, after the loss of his treasurership, retired to Louvain, and retaining there his mental activity, he gained a high reputation among English Romanists. He published replies both to the Challenge and to the Apology, and it is some credit to these pieces, that Jewel himself undertook a critical examination of them. The learned Bishop of Salisbury had, however, no very difficult task in exposing his opponent. Harding's attempt to prove, that the twenty-seven articles named by Jewel were admitted by the Catholic Church during the first six hundred years of her existence is a palpable failure. Nor is his *Confutation of the Apology*, although an easier subject on account of the greater latitude allowed to the writer, by any means happy. The expatriated divine's indifference as to the citation of authorities was, indeed, such as effectually to preclude his labours from attaining a lasting reputation. An author who misrepresents the sense of important passages, appeals to spurious works as if they were genuine, and employs assertions where discerning readers look for arguments or proofs, is very little likely to gain upon any mind unless it has previously received a powerful bias in his favour.

While Romish polemics were meditating replies to the celebrated challenge, the English bishops assiduously laboured for the complete renovation of the Church. A great degree of incompetence noto-

riously prevailed among the parochial clergy, and the facility with which they had generally received every creed imposed upon them by the government, had by no means tended to raise their reputation. There were individuals, probably such as had imbibed Genevan principles during a recent exile, who would fain have remedied existing evils by suspending from the ministerial office such ecclesiastics as were noted for repeated alterations in their religious profession; provision being made against future admissions of insufficient pastors by requiring the parish to concur with the patron in nominating a clerk to a vacant benefice [c]. Such violent innovations were not, however, likely to meet an approval from the grave and cautious persons who had been wisely chosen to preside over the Church. They contented themselves with proceeding in the discharge of their important duties according to the tenour of the Queen's injunctions [d], not doubting that they would thus, in due time, effect such reforms in the sacred profession as circumstances required and would allow. With a view of obviating objections to the principles of ministers, a brief declaration of belief in some leading articles was drawn up in Latin, for their subscription. This contains an assent to the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and a disclaimer of Romish and Anabaptistical errors [e]. An English declaration of

[c] See the proposal in Strype's Annals, i. 312.
[d] Ibid, 318.
[e] Ibid, 323.

similar import was also composed for clergymen to read on taking possession of their benefices, and twice in every year besides [f]. Farther provision was made for conciliating popular feeling in favour of the clerical order by refusing ordination to persons who had hitherto followed mechanical occupations. Apparent necessity had recently induced the bishops to ordain such individuals. But the experiment proved far from happy. Many of these new ministers were found to have imbibed in their former modes of life habits unfitted for acquiring, or even for meriting public respect. It was now, therefore, determined, that those who had been engaged in avocations alien from learning should not in future be admitted into holy orders [g].

Amidst their cares for the complete spiritual renovation of England, the bishops observed with concern, that Elizabeth clung to the gaudy decorations by which Romanists render edifices appropriated to religion attractive to the eye. She long persisted in retaining lights and a crucifix in her own chapel, and she maintained, that such ornaments, together, perhaps, with figures of the Virgin and St. John, the usual furniture of rood-lofts, might, excusably, and even advantageously, be suffered to continue in churches [h]. Vainly, for a time, did remonstrances from the prelacy against such relics of the former

[f] See Strype's Annals, i. 325.

[g] Strype's Parker, i. 180.

[h] Edwinus Wigornensis (Sandys) ad P. Mart. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 389.

system assail the royal ears. At last, however, the reasons urged for denying any farther toleration to them, procured the insertion of an order, among the injunctions recently issued, to remove from the house of God all objects that had been abused to superstitious and idolatrous purposes. Being armed with this authority, the visitors had generally cleared places of public worship of such insidious appendages; and had even committed them publicly to the flames[j]. Elizabeth now desired, that a cross, at least, should be placed in every church, and when pressed with reasons against this ornament, she angrily talked of depriving the prelates who were most resolute in opposing her inclinations. But they knew that the concession of this point was fraught with danger to ignorant and superstitious minds; a sense of duty, therefore, forbade them to give way. They addressed, accordingly, a long memorial to the Queen against any use of images in churches[k], and Jewel, together with Grindal, argued, by appointment, before certain members of Parliament, against the proposed erection of crosses[l]. At last this honourable pertinacity was crowned with success; the Queen consenting to the indiscriminate proscription of objects which her prelacy so justly deprecated as injurious to the progress of sound religion[m].

[j] Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 389.
[k] Strype's Annals, i. 332.
[l] Juellus ad P. Mart. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, iii. 387.
[m] Strype's Annals, i. 332.

In another particular, Elizabeth afforded some degree of gratification to those who were prejudiced in favour of the Romish service. One might think upon slight reflexion, that few features in the papal system have so little chance of popularity, as prayers in a language which most men understand not at all, and which very few comparatively understand perfectly. The human mind, however, becomes attached to every thing which is endeared to it by long familiarity, and the weaker intellects are never so well pleased as when under the supposed operation of something which, being unintelligible to them, is looked upon as a sort of charm. Hence the Roman Liturgy owes some degree of its popularity even to the *sacred* language, as the Latin has been absurdly called, in which it is composed. The remains probably of such a partiality excusably lingering among professed scholars, produced an application to the crown for permission to say the public prayers in Latin, in the two Universities, and in the colleges of Winchester and Eton. An anxiety to employ every expedient likely to familiarise the students with an important language, was the reason assigned for preferring this request. The desired boon, being obviously reasonable, was granted on the 6th of April, by royal authority. But the Queen, in thus gratifying the Universities, and the two colleges, added an exhortation, which rather savours of prejudice, if not of superstition. She recommends clergymen to read privately to themselves the Latin translation of the daily prayers on those days in which they celebrated not the English offices in their

churches. The volume containing this version of the Liturgy was also rendered acceptable to the lovers of former usages, by the insertion in it of a service for commemorating such as have founded, or benefited, public institutions, and of a form for administering the holy Communion at funerals. Both these offices are in Latin, and the use of them, as of the Liturgy in the same tongue, rests upon the Queen's exercise of her prerogative[n].

Of publications tending to wean Englishmen from Romish prejudices, no one probably had a more extensive operation than Foxe's Martyrology. The first portion of this important work, which is principally an historical exposure of the papacy, was originally printed in Latin on the continent, whither the author had fled from the Marian persecution. Having arrived at home soon after Elizabeth's accession, Foxe was encouraged by various members of the hierarchy to crown his former labours, by adding to them copious accounts of those who had perished as religious delinquents under the late Queen. Every facility was afforded to him for the completion of this task in the most satisfactory manner; and he shewed himself fully worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Invariable accuracy is not to be expected in any historical work of such extent; but it may be truly said of England's venerable martyrologist, that his relations are more than ordinarily worthy of reli-

[n] Royal declaration prefixed to the offices for commemorating benefactors, and administering the Sacrament at funerals. Bp. Sparrow's Collection, 201.

ance. His principal object being indeed to leave behind him a vast mass of authentic information relating to those miserable times which it had been his lot to witness, he printed a vast mass of original letters, records of judicial processes, and other documentary evidence. The result of this judicious policy was a work which has highly gratified the friends of Protestantism, and successfully defied its enemies. Numerous attacks have been levelled at the honest chronicler of Romish intolerance; but they have ever fallen harmless from the assailant's hand.

Sound as was the discretion displayed by Elizabeth's ecclesiastical advisers, there were individuals returned from an exile upon the continent who felt inclined to question the propriety of adhering so scrupulously to the principles which had guided King Edward's reformers. Such Englishmen would fain have seen their national Church closely resembling that of Geneva, and they wrote to Calvin with a view of obtaining the sanction of his authority for the scruples which they were disposed to entertain. But he gave them very little encouragement. They seem to have sought for confirmation in objections against the use of an absolution after the general confession, against separate addresses to communicants, against the Rubric enjoining communion at the three great festivals, and against administering the Eucharist to the sick. Calvin's answer approved a declaration of God's mercy after a public avowal of sinfulness; accounted for his own omission of addresses to communicants individually by the want of

sufficient time to officiate in that manner; advised monthly sacraments, if the people could be brought to attend them without any violent interference with their established habits, if not, a contented acquiescence in the existing practice; and maintained, that sick persons ought not to be excluded from the Eucharist. Besides thinking thus favourably of Anglican usages, the great apostle of Geneva is also known to have admitted the antiquity and usefulness of episcopal government. It is therefore evident, that his own departure from practices which he knew to be sanctioned by the most venerable precedents, and which are happily naturalised in England, was the result of necessity rather than of choice [o].

A general approval of the English Reformation likewise indirectly proceeded from a foreign quarter, where apparently it was far less likely to seem endurable than at Geneva. On the 18th of August, 1559, Paul IV. closed his turbulent pontificate, having first, with his dying breath, advised the cardinals to patronise the Inquisition, as the best preservative against surrounding heresies [p]. The triple crown remained without a wearer until Christmas, when it was placed upon the brows of John Angelo de' Medici, then seventy years old, a cardinal of acknowledged judgment, and of much official experience. The new Pope, who called himself Pius IV. soon became anxious to signalise his reign by the recovery of England. A letter was accordingly despatched

[o] Strype's Annals, i. 387.
[p] Pallavicino, ii. 127.

to Elizabeth [q], by means of Parpaglia, once known at the court of London as a dependant of Cardinal

[q] "To our dearest daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queen of England.

"Our most beloved daughter in Christ, greeting, and Apostolical benediction. How earnestly we desire, as by our pastoral duty bound, to take effectual care of your salvation, and to provide for your honour, and the establishment of your kingdom, both God, the searcher of hearts, knows, and you may learn yourself from the instructions we have given to our beloved son, Vincent Parpaglia, a person not unknown to you, and well approved of us, to be communicated to you. We do, therefore, most dear daughter, exhort and persuade your Highness again and again, that you would lay by those ill counsellors who love themselves better than your interest; and that you would proceed in the fear of God, and acknowledge the time of your visitation, and yield obedience to our paternal and wholesome admonitions. By doing which you may promise yourself every thing at our hands that you can desire, not only towards the happiness of your soul, but the establishment also of your royal dignity, according to the authority, place, and function entrusted to us by God; who, if you return into the bosom of the Church, as we hope and wish you may, are ready to receive you with the same affection, joy, and honour, wherewith the parent in the Gospel received the prodigal upon his return. Though our satisfaction will be so much higher than his, as he rejoiced for the sake of one child's salvation only, whereas you, as virtually containing all the people of England, will give us occasion to congratulate the happy conversion of yourself and the whole nation; and the same will you minister to all our brethren in general, (whom, God willing, you will in a little time understand to be convened in an œcumenical and general council, for the extirpation of heresies,) as well as to the whole Church. Nay, you will fill heaven itself with joyful acclamations; and by so memorable an action, perpetuate the glory of your name, and purchase a much richer diadem than that which you now wear. But of this, the above-

Pole's. In addition to the kind and conciliatory tone which pervades his epistle, Pius intimates in it, that the bearer was furnished with some especial authority for giving satisfaction to the Queen. These secret instructions empowered the messenger, it is said, to announce the pontiff's disposition not only to recognise Elizabeth's legitimacy[r], but also to sanction the English service-book[s]; upon condition,

mentioned Vincent has directions to transact with you more at large, and he will declare to you our fatherly affection; whom we pray your Highness to treat with all possible candour, to hear him cheerfully, and repose as entire faith in what he says, as you would in ourself.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, &c. 15th of May, 1560, in our first year." Cambden, 384.

[r] Sanders gives no hint of any farther concession to be hoped from Parpaglia's mission. "Nuncium interim suum, qui, per inferiorem Germaniam Angliam versus progrederetur, mox misit (Papa) ut Elizabetham erroris admoneret, et ne propter odium pontificis, se, regnumque nobilissimum perderet, suaderet: ac si quidem esset de quo sibi propter incertos natales ab ecclesia vel pontifice, quoad jus regnandi, metueret, sedis apostolicæ benignitate facile transigi posse diceret." De Schism. Angl. 307.

[s] We learn from the respectable contemporary authority of Dr. Clerk, who had excellent means of information, and who appeals to existing vouchers both documentary and personal, that some papal concession was to be expected beyond the recognition of Elizabeth's legitimacy. "Cum ita fortefortuna usuveniret, ut nobilis quidam Anglus in curia Romana ageret, cœpit cum eo Pontifex iste Pius in multum sermonem incidere, quæ causa esset cur Elizabetha Regina illius authoritatem, atque adeo supremæ potestatis nomen e regno ejiceret. Respondit nobilis ille, ut erat homo sapiens et literis instructus, Anglorum Reginæ tam sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis, quam *regni legibus* persuasum esse, nullam esse in terra alicna jurisdictionem. Vix adduci possum, ut illud

that her Majesty should formally acknowledge the papal supremacy. The overture, however, was de-

credam, inquit Papa, cum sapiens et literata sit Regina vestra, sed illam suspicor Apostolicam sedem summo odio insectari, quod illa cathedra contra matris illius nuptias pronuntiavit. Si id in causa est, ego illi meam astringo fidem, me illam sententiam non modo tanquam injustam retracturum, *sed in ejus gratiam quæcunque possum præterea facturum*, dum illa ad nostram Ecclesiam se recipiat, et debitum mihi primatus titulum reddat. Si me putes fingi, quod ipse (Sanders, sc.) soles facere, extant adhuc apud nos articuli, Abbatis Sanctæ Salutis (Parpaglia) manu conscripti, extant Cardinalis Moronæ literæ quibus nobilem illum vehementer hortabatur ut eam rem nervis omnibus apud Reginam nostram sollicitaret. Extant hodie nobilium nostrorum aliquot quibus Papa multa aureorum millia pollicitus est, ut istius amicitiæ atque fœderis inter Romanam cathedram et Elizabetham serenissimam authores essent." (Fid. Serv. Subd. Infid. Resp.) The concessions intended by Pius, in addition to his acknowledgment of Elizabeth's legitimacy, are thus stated by the Lord Chief Justice Coke in a speech delivered at the Norwich assizes, on the 4th of August, 1606. "The Pope wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in which he consented to approve the book of Common Prayer, as used among us, as containing nothing contrary to the truth, and comprehending what is necessary to salvation, though not all that ought to be in it, and that he would authorise the use of it, if her Majesty would receive it from him, and upon his authority. *This is the truth touching Pope Pius V. which I have often heard from the Queen's own mouth. And I have frequently conferred with noblemen of the highest rank in the state, who had seen and read the Pope's letter upon this subject, as I have related it to you. And this is as true as that I am an honest man.*" Robert Abbot, brother to the Archbishop of that name, and himself Bishop of Salisbury, affirms in his answer to the Apology for Garnet, that Elizabeth mentioned this letter in Parliament. Bp. Andrews also, in his answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, asserts that this papal overture hinged upon an

clined, and Parpaglia proceeded no farther than Brussels [t]; being informed that he would not be permitted to pass over into England [u].

Most probably Elizabeth rejected these advances with her usual courtesy and caution. For Pius evidently was not driven by the disappointment to despair of acquiring some influence over English affairs. He had entered upon the pontificate under an engagement to convene a general council, and

express understanding, that the English Liturgy was to be approved at Rome. (Le Courayer, iii. 365.) Sir Roger Twisden says of this account of the Pope's intentions: "I myself have received it, from such as I cannot doubt of it, they having had it from persons of nigh relation unto them who were actors in the managing of the business." Hist. Vind. 176.

Yet notwithstanding this weight of testimony, the relation evidently labours under difficulties. Clerk, who probably obtained his information from Abp. Parker, only mentions some undefined offer of concession, in addition to an acknowledgment of Elizabeth's legitimacy. Cambden, who received much of his most valuable matter from Cecil, Lord Burghley, mentions the current accounts of the Pope's intended concessions as mere reports. Upon the whole, it appears hardly doubtful, that Elizabeth was assured in writing of Pius's disposition to recognise some of her ecclesiastical arrangements, if she would only consent to admit his authority. But most probably, neither were the points in which concession was to be expected accurately defined, nor did the Pope distinctly pledge himself to any concession at all beyond the recognition of the Queen's legitimacy. If such be the case, the overture was nothing more than one of those old papal manœuvres by which some gratification afforded to a sovereign was to be rendered available for undermining the religious liberties of a nation.

[t] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 304.

[u] Sanders, 307.

every new month of his life increased his conviction, that this engagement could not safely be eluded. At last it was determined, that the proposed assembly should meet at Trent, thereby rendering itself a continuation of the famous body which had deliberated upon that spot in former years. Having decided upon this measure, Pius formally announced his intention to the princes of his communion. He then resolved upon communicating the same information to such potentates as had broken off connexion with the Roman see; inviting them at the same time to take a part in the approaching council. This conciliatory compliment was represented by some of his courtiers as derogatory to the papal dignity. But the pontiff excellently replied: "I will readily humble myself to heresy. Whatever is done for the sake of gaining souls to Christ, is becoming of my station[x]." The Abbé Jerome Martinengo was employed to visit England with this invitation, and his instructions were, that in the first instance, he should proceed to Flanders, and there await passports for London, which it was hoped he would obtain by means of the Spanish ambassador. If this hope were realised, Martinengo was carefully to avoid every appearance of a close understanding with Philip; he was to abstain for a while from soliciting the release of the imprisoned bishops; and in fine, he was to make it appear, that his object at the English court was merely to engage Elizabeth's concurrence in a project which intimately con-

[x] F. Paul, 436.

cerned the common interests of all Christendom. He was to admonish the Queen, that, in acceding to his Holiness's wishes, an important spiritual benefit would accrue both to herself and her subjects. Nor was he to forget an intimation, that her Majesty, in listening to the Pontiff's voice might calculate upon making with him very favourable terms.* Happily the English cabinet was proof against such insidious offers. When Philip's ambassador urged the propriety of receiving Martinengo, the Queen replied, "An invidious distinction has been made between me, and such other Catholic potentates as have been invited to this council some time ago. The proposed assembly, also, will not be

* "Che le promettesse in tal caso qualunque favore del Papa." (Pallavicino, ii. 204.) These words are probably, pretty close to the truth. It is more likely that Martinengo was instructed to hold out some undefined expectation of concession, than that he was actually authorised to make such an offer as the Pope's recognition of the English Liturgy. At the same time, it may be reasonably believed that either he, in an unofficial manner, or some person in his confidence, endeavoured to work upon the English court by representing an approval of the national service as far from hopeless at Rome. Had Elizabeth's ministers taken this bait, a papal nuncio would again have been allowed to intrigue in England. That he would have known very well how to make his residence in our island tell upon ignorance and disaffection, all experience was a sufficient guarantee. As for any pledge, either directly or indirectly given, to procure for him an entrance into the kingdom, that could never occasion the least uneasiness at Rome. If such an engagement came through any indirect channel, it might be disclaimed by the nuncio; if it came from that personage himself, it might be insisted by the Pope that his representative had exceeded his instructions.

free, pious, and Christian. Were it likely to possess these characters, I should send to it some religious and zealous persons to represent the Church of England. Any permission of the Nuncio's entrance into my dominions is not to be expected from me. His employment here would be, under cover of the council, to foment seditions among a party of my subjects." Vainly did the Spanish minister endeavour to meet these objections, by representing the royal answer as unusual and discourteous. "To refuse such messengers," the Queen rejoined, "is no new thing in England. Recently, my sister Mary denied admittance into her territories to the late Pope's envoy, who brought a cardinal's hat for Father William Peto." Martinengo bore, apparently, his disappointment with great equanimity, observing, when informed of it: "His Holiness cannot fail of being deeply grieved on hearing of her Majesty's determination; and I must think, that in coming to it she has not acted with that great prudence which has been displayed by her upon other occasions[z]."

[z] Pallavicino, ii. 204. Le Courayer (B. v. ch. 3.) enters at great length into the question respecting the papal overtures to Queen Elizabeth, and he decides, undoubtedly with a great appearance of probability, that Pius made the offer of confirming the Liturgy which many writers have attributed to him. The learned and candid Frenchman's inference from this view of the case is, that no doubt was entertained in the discreeter heads at Rome as to the validity of English ordinations. This, indeed, is evident, even if Martinengo did not commit himself to the extent alleged in several quarters. There can be no doubt, that the Italian agent was instructed to make some sort of terms with the English government. But obviously no man of sense in Rome

The Trentine council proceeded for the third time to the despatch of business on the 18th of January, 1562. Gaspar del Fosso, Archbishop of Reggio, preached the sermon, which, much like the flowery theme of a clever school-boy, opens with mentioning the sources of the Nile, the flight of Darius, the philosophic reveries of Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, together with other such classical common places. The dense vapour which followed, as usual, these introductory flashes, was raised with a view to convince the world, that both the papacy and its agents, then in the preacher's eye, were infallible[a]. Infinite pains were taken to prevent the council from accomplishing any object affecting the papal claims to this exalted character. It seemed reasonable, both to many of the prelates who were assembled at Trent, and to the principal Romish potentates, that any member of the body should enjoy the privilege of proposing questions for discussion[b]. But this claim was resolutely resisted by the legates; who maintained, that to them exclusively belonged the right of indicating the matters which required decision. A pertinacious disposition to contest this point was, however, far from forming the only source of uneasiness at the court of Pius. Every Romish government loudly demanded a thorough reformation of ecclesiastical affairs. The

could suppose it possible to carry on any such negociation, if the complete overthrow of all the Queen's ecclesiastical arrangements were insisted upon as a preliminary condition.

[a] Labb. et Coss. xiv. 1249.

[b] F. Paul, 469. 501. Pallavicino, ii. 254.

Pope's advisers were intent upon eluding these calls to the utmost of their power, and were anxious that any concessions which it might be found impossible to withhold, should wear the appearance of coming from pontifical, not from conciliar authority. The French and Germans were also desirous of communion in both kinds, prayers in the vernacular tongue, and other such corrections of palpable abuses[c]. Even the Spaniards harassed the papal court by unpalatable doctrines. They would fain have argued the council into a decision that bishops hold their authority not mediately from the Roman see, but immediately from Christ himself[d]. Such an affirmation was, however, deemed highly prejudicial to the papacy, and great exertions were accordingly made to evade it. So many proofs of the Pope's determination to hold an absolute mastery over the Tridentine fathers occasioned general disgust. Italy, indeed, having long paid implicit obedience to the popedom, being interested in its exaltation, and supplying the great majority of those who were now fighting its battles at Trent, was tolerably contented under its present selfish policy. But other countries in alliance with Rome were daily becoming more dissatisfied with a body which could hardly fail of mocking the hopes of Romanists, and of exciting the derision of their opponents. Alarmed by these increasing murmurs of disapprobation, and embarrassed likewise by the difficulty of restraining the

[c] F. Paul, 513. 527. 652.
[d] Ibid. 589.

fathers completely from freedom of debate, Pius became impatient to dissolve the council. Nor as the year 1563 was hastening fast along its downward course, could he bear the thought of seeing it close without at the same time having to congratulate himself upon the separation of an assembly which caused him so much uneasiness. November, however, was on the wane, when not only many reforms in ecclesiastical affairs, long anxiously desired, remained undetermined; but also some doctrinal articles of especial prominence had not come under discussion. Indulgences, the origin of Luther's opposition, purgatory, the invocation of saints, the veneration of images and relics were yet unsanctioned by the Trentine fathers. Gladly, no doubt, would both these personages, and their master-springs at Rome have escaped from any formal notice of such hopeless questions. But this good fortune was evidently beyond the reach of either party. Had the council separated without affirming the propriety of established Romish usages in these particulars, the papal system must have received a serious injury. More discerning Romanists think, probably, but lightly of these wretched inventions; they entwine themselves however most tenaciously around weakness and ignorance in every station. Hence it was obviously gross impolicy to leave unapproved these popular attractions. Their pretensions, accordingly, were confirmed, and in a manner worthy of them. Within one fortnight indulgences, purgatory, appeals to dead persons honoured with papal patents of saintship, religious

homage offered to images, and to objects known as relics, were all ranged among articles of the Catholic faith. This precipitate insertion is, however, made in a brief, unassured, unscholarly manner which forms a remarkable contrast to other decisions emanating from the Trentine council [c]. Having thus provided for continuing the papal empire over ignorance and superstition, the fathers separated on the 4th of December, to the great satisfaction of Pius and his courtiers, but sorely to the disappointment of every other Romish government in Europe.

While an examination of the papal faith was proceeding at Trent, a review of their own doctrines occupied the principal English ecclesiastics. On the 12th of January, 1563, the Convocation assembled in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and it held, until its prorogation on the 14th of April, thirty-six sessions. An attempt was made during its continuance, to obtain some better provision for incumbents of parishes in which the tythes, having been originally appropriated by monastic bodies, had now become secular estates. But private interests rendered this equitable motion ineffectual. A considerable party in the Convocation, chiefly composed of those who had taken refuge abroad from the Marian persecution, was also desirous of reducing the public worship of England to a closer conformity with presbyterian

[c] Labb. et Coss. xiv. 894, et sequ. It should be observed, that the 19th canon enacted in the first day of the last Trentine session, confirms the deposing doctrine asserted in the fourth council of Lateran, by decreeing that princes should forfeit the dominion of places in which they permit duelling.

usages. This object, however, was frustrated by the good sense of the majority, whose views in finally settling the national Church, were to do little else than restore the system which had been established under King Edward[f]. Upon this judicious principle was conducted the prescription of a religious test to the Anglican clergy. The forty-two articles compiled under Cranmer's authority, were carefully considered by his discreet and scholarly successor[g]. The results of this revision were, the retrenchment of articles[h], and parts of articles, which appeared superfluous, or less needful, than they might have been ten years before; the addition of four new articles[i], and of clauses in some of the old ones; and the reduction of the whole formulary into more perspicuous

[f] See Hist. Ref. under King Edward VI. 652.

[g] A MS. copy of King Edward's articles with numerous alterations made by Archbishop Parker's red-lead pencil, is yet preserved in Bene't College library. Strype's Annals, i. 485.

[h] *Viz.* the 10th, 16th, 19th, and the last four. Of these retrenched articles, the substance of the 19th was incorporated in the 7th among the revised articles. The remaining six assert the compatibility of human free-will with Divine grace, define blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and deny the opinions of those who teach that the resurrection is past, that the human soul either sleeps after the body's dissolution, or is annihilated, that a millennium is to be expected, and that all men indiscriminately will eventually be saved.

[i] Viz. the 5th, 12th, 29th, and 30th. In these are taught the double procession, consubstantiality, and equality of the Holy Ghost; the testimony necessarily afforded by good works to a true and lively faith; the non-eating of Christ's body by communicants void of such a faith; and the obligation of administering in both kinds.

and scriptural language. Thirty-nine was the number of the articles in this amended form, and they received an unanimous assent from the Convocation on the 31st of January, being its ninth session. The prelates immediately affixed their subscriptions to them; but some delay was experienced in obtaining for them all the signatures of members of the Lower House. The whole body, however, seems eventually to have subscribed; thus authenticating a doctrinal formulary, which has ever since guided the national belief of England. Besides accomplishing this important object, the Convocation authorised the second book of Homilies, and a Catechism for the use of those above mere elementary religious instruction, compiled by Dr. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, chiefly from a similar production, which was recommended by royal authority within a short time of Edward's demise[j].

In submitting thus theological questions to domestic decision, Elizabeth really adopted the same policy with her Romish neighbours upon the continent. Italy and Poland indeed consented implicitly to take their divinity from Trent; but Germany, France, and even Spain, were something less obsequious. All these countries were dissatisfied both with the conduct of the council while in existence, and with its abrupt termination. It is true, that they were not disposed to question its theology; but this was only because they maintained, that it had inculcated no other articles of faith than such as they had them-

[j] Strype's Annals, ch. xxviii. Churton's Nowell, sect. v.

selves admitted before it sat. They chose not, however, formally to give these tenets any new authentication until after having passed the ordeal of their national tribunals. Philip of Spain, accordingly, assembled in 1565 several provincial councils, which, among other things, introduced the Trentine doctrines into confessions of faith[k]. England only acted upon the same principle: she too summoned her clergy for the purpose of appeasing, by their intervention, the theological ferment which agitated her in common with the rest of Europe. Her ecclesiastics, undoubtedly, trod not in the steps of their continental neighbours. Instead of re-echoing the decisions of the Trentine fathers, they utterly rejected them. But an independent Church is plainly entitled to the exercise of this discretion. The English provincial council, for such is the Convocation, rejected no doctrine which is capable of proof from Scripture, or which can with any certainty (Protestants add, with any probability) be traced to primitive antiquity. Nothing, therefore, was done in settling the English Reformation which those employed in that important work were not fully justified in accomplishing. Less indeed than they effected would, probably, neither have satisfied the sovereign, nor the country. Elizabeth was bred a Protestant, and, from the circumstances of her birth, was necessarily interested in reformed opinions. It has indeed been

[k] Append. a l'histoire du Concile de Trente, par Le Courayer, 685. Conc. Tolet. apud Labb. et Coss. xv. 756. The confession of faith adopted by the council of Toledo, is that prescribed by Pope Pius IV. and ordinarily distinguished by his name.

thought that her support of them was purely the result of policy, and that her own feelings rather attached her to the Romish creed, than to its rival. But this idea can only be entertained by those who consider her to have been destitute of religion, or nearly so. She seems not, however, to have been obnoxious to an imputation thus severe[1]. Again she had been brought up under a persuasion, that any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of England is contrary to the common and statute law of the realm. In the beginning of her reign it became the duty of her ministers to lay evidence before her, proving that such is indeed the fact. Hence she, probably, considered herself bound, as in truth she was, by her constitutional engagements, to deny the pretensions of any alien prelate to jurisdiction over England. The nation also was pervaded by a vast mass of active intelligence decidedly Protestant. Unfortunately for their credit, the nobility and gentry had shewn of late years a greater anxiety for acquiring and retaining property, than for the prevalence of any particular opinions. But the more intellectual classes below them were in a great mea-

[1] Elizabeth fell upon her keees, and devoutly returned thanks to God both upon receiving news of her accession, and upon her entering as queen the royal apartments in the Tower. It was at no great distance of time when she entered that fortress as a prisoner. Nor can it be denied, that even Mary's death must have been considered by her as a deliverance. During the whole of that princess's reign, she had lived in a very precarious, uncomfortable state. Persons, however, whose first impulse, in thinking of a providential escape, is one of piety, are not commonly destitute of sound religious impressions.

sure weaned from Rome [m]. The peasantry indeed, excepting perhaps those of the eastern counties, were still attached to the papal system. It is obvious, however, that this lingering love of inveterate usages must soon have yielded to a general assault upon it from persons of wealth and information. Thus it would have been found impossible to stay the progress of reformed opinions, unless by means of such atrocities as had brought inextinguishable infamy upon the reign of Queen Mary. Even France, Italy, and Spain, countries in which Protestantism had never been legally established, were restrained from the general profession of it only by means of a sanguinary persecution. England, therefore, which had learned from authority to spurn a foreign jurisdiction, and articles of faith unrevealed in Scripture,

[m] Sanders computes, that if the English nation had been divided in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign into three equal parts, more than two of these would have been found attached to the Romish creed. This majority consisted, he says, in the nobility and gentry, and in persons connected with agriculture. The people of London, and of the neighbouring counties, also of the maritime towns generally, he admits, were extensively Protestant. Of course, he adds, that it was only the more light and worthless in these places who had adopted reformed opinions. (De Schism. Angl. 290.) Now this is a plain admission, that nearly one-third of the nation was not likely to remain contented under a Romish establishment. When it is recollected, that this division embraced a large proportion of the property and information, then rapidly upon the increase, which give to middle life so much importance in the political scale, it is obvious, that Elizabeth's ecclesiastical conduct was highly judicious even as a mere matter of worldly calculation.

was most unlikely to recognise these things again until after an exterminating struggle.

To the wisdom of Elizabeth's religious choice her native land has borne uninterrupted testimony ever since her auspicious occupation of its throne. From that celebrated epoch England has made a constant progress in all that gives dignity to men, and power to nations. That a scriptural faith is the main source of her glorious and happy pre-eminence, may fairly be inferred from the notorious facts, that countries, like herself reformed, are more intelligent and flourishing than those which yet adhere to Rome; and that, of these latter regions, those are most prosperous and enlightened in which this adherence is the loosest. Protestantism indeed, by teaching only doctrines unquestionable, excluding all usages that are not simple and rational, offering no hope of acceptance with God unless through genuine contrition, and opening unreservedly the channels of information, has an obvious tendency to nurture masculine intelligence and sound morality: the only secure foundations of individual happiness and national importance.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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1. For icondulic read iconodulic.

17. For iconclast read iconoclast.

49. It is evident that the persons so cruelly destroyed at Orleans, in 1017, held Albigensian, or, in other words, Protestant opinions. "Le Moine des vallées de Sernay, enemi mortel des Vaudois, écrivant l'histoire de la guerre contre les Albigeois entreprise l'an 1209, dans laquelle il s'est trouvé lui même, dit dans sa preface, *que Simon, Comte de Montfort, signala son zèle en ce qu' il eut soin d' exterminer cette pernicieuse secte et heresie qui déjà dès l' an* 1017 *levait la tête à Orleans.*" Historical Defence of the Waldenses. Lond. 1826, p. 27.

53. The Waldenses are now confined to the three vallies of Luzerna, Persosa, and St. Martin, situated about thirty-five miles from Turin. Within this interesting district are contained sixteen parishes inhabited, in 1825, by a population of primitive Christians amounting to 19,710 souls, among whom are intermingled 1785 Romanists. Ackland's Brief Sketch of the History and present State of the Waldenses. Lond. 1825, pp. 3. 51. Hist. Def. of the Wald. xix.

54. The Waldenses, though long persecuted in the most atrocious manner in other parts of Western Europe, remained secure in their Alpine citadel *until* the year 1475. In that year were begun those insane and profligate attempts to exterminate Christ's unpolluted

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Church, visibly existing in its last western retreat, which have brought so much infamy upon the Roman see, and upon several infatuated sovereigns who have lent themselves to its ambitious purposes.

55. The Waldensian faith in the earlier ages appears from a confession preserved by Leger in his history of this most venerable community, and composed about the year 1120; from the *Nobla Leyçon*, a piece in the *patois* of the Valleys drawn up between the years 1170 and 1190; from a statement inserted by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II. in his History of Bohemia; and from another printed by the centuriators of Magdeburg from an ancient manuscript. (Hist. Def. 19. 142. 147. Hist. Boem. Vineg. 1545, p. 39. Usser. de Success. 81.) All these documents express the belief of modern orthodox Protestants.

65. For Philip's son read Philip's *grand*son.

65. For 1823 read 1229.

69. Llorente assigns the establishment of the Inquisition to the year 1208. Hist. of the Inqu. of Spain. Lond. 1826. p. 14.

136. The Popes consecrated the *golden rose* on the fourth Sunday in Lent. Urban II. is generally believed to have been the first pontiff who performed this ceremony. He presented the *rose*, in 1095, to Fulk, Count of Anjou. Hist. du Conc. de Pise, par Lenfant. Amst. 1724. i. 325.

176. The Lady Mary appears to have been born on the 18th of February. Ribadeneyra, 235.

181. The Boleyns appear to have been of French extraction. Walter Boulen was vassal to Baldwin, Lord of Avesnes, near Peronne, in 1344. (Notice Historique sur Anne Boleyn. Lettres de Henri VIII. par Crapelet, Paris, 1.) The French call Henry's unfortunate Queen, Anne de Boulen. Her branch of the family, probably, came into England about the time of the Conquest.

184. The old Earl of Northumberland died on the 19th of May, 1527, probably soon after his angry interview with his

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son. (Hist. of Henry VIII. by Sharon Turner, F.S.A. and R.A.S.L. Lond. 1827. ii. 194.) It is most likely that Anne Boleyn came over to England with her father in the beginning of 1527. Her patroness, then Queen of Navarre, going to reside in a distant part of France, Sir Thomas Boleyn must have considered that the advantages which he had sought for his daughter, in educating her upon the continent, were now at an end.

244. Greatly to Cromwell's honour, his elevation was unsullied by insolence and ingratitude. In his youth he had been driven by distress to leave unpaid a debt of forty shillings, contracted with a woman who kept a public house at Hounslow. Riding one day, when a minister of state, down Cheapside, with Abp. Cranmer, he saw this woman, and calling her up to him, he not only acknowledged his debt, but also, finding her sunk in indigence, he settled upon her a pension for life. During his wanderings upon the continent, he was reduced to ask alms at Florence. A merchant, named Frescobaldi, generously supplied him with a new suit of clothes, a horse, and sixteen ducats, as the means of enabling him to reach his own country. When Cromwell was in the height of his prosperity, he saw the liberal Italian in London, whither he had come in the hope of retrieving his affairs, then fallen into a very embarrassing condition. The minister immediately made himself known to his ancient benefactor, insisted upon entertaining him at his own house, gave him thirty-six ducats as a payment for the advances made to himself at Florence, added a present of sixteen hundred more, by way of interest, as he said, and rendered him most important services in collecting his English debts. Upon another occasion Cromwell recognised, at the monastery of Sheen, where he was engaged in administering the oath of supremacy, a poor man from whom he had received many kindnesses in his youth. To the great surprise of his brother-commissioners, he called this humble individual to him, obligingly took him by the hand, mentioned the benefits which he had once

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received from him, and promised to provide for him during life. Foxe, 1082.

272. The Pope's power to authorise a plurality of wives appears to have been admitted among Romish divines in the sixteenth century. The following words occur in a disputation upon clerical celibacy, delivered by Ludegna, a doctor in divinity, before the council of Trent: "Advertendum est, quod Apostoli dupliciter considerantur, uno modo, ut Apostoli, alio vero, ut rectores, et Ecclesiæ gubernatores: advertendum insuper, quod quæcunque Apostoli, ut sic, considerati præceperunt, aut statuerunt, immutabilia, et indispensabilia sunt; quæ vero ut rectores et gubernatores Ecclesiæ ordinarunt, aut statuerunt, pro ratione temporum, personarum, aut locorum, mutabilia sunt, aut dispensabilia. Verbi gratia, *de polygamia dispensabilia, inquam, per summum pontificem,* aut Ecclesiam parem in gubernatione cum eis habentem potestatem." Labb. et Coss. xiv. 1549.

277. Wolsey was arrested, because "it was discovered that he was forming conspiracies against the government, both in England, and with Rome." Turner's Henry VIII. ii. 297.

355. Cranmer's own account of himself is, that he shook off a belief in the corporal presence very gradually. "After it had pleased God to shew unto me by his holy Word a more perfect knowledge of his Son, Jesus Christ, *from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance.* And as God of his mercy gave me light, so, through his grace, I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain in darkness." Cranmer's Answer to Smyth's Preface, appended to his Answer to Gardiner. Lond. 1580, p. 402.

357. Persons, the Jesuit, unable to deny that the supremacy was conceded to Henry by Romish ecclesiastics, thus expresses himself. The King "first began to shew his grief and displeasure against Cardinal Wolsey; and, secondly, against the whole clergy of England, con-

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demning the one and the other in the forfeiture of *præmunire;* who, in their submission and supplication for pardon, either of fear or flattery, called him Supreme Head of their Church of England." Three Conversions, i. 235.

436. From a passage in the *Collectanea Cambrica*, there is reason for believing that Christianity was first preached in Britain, in the year 57, by Bran, father of the celebrated Caradoc, or Caractacus, and three missionaries who came with him from Rome. Bran had passed the last seven years in that capital as hostage for his warlike son. An Essay on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church in the British Isles, and its Independence upon the Church of Rome, by the Rev. William Hales, D.D. Lond. 1819, p. 102.

455. It is worthy of remark, that although William availed himself of papal assistance in dispossessing Stigand and other English dignitaries, yet these acts were accomplished under his own eye, and by his own authority. "*Jubente et præsidente Rege Willelmo Bastardo.*" He pretended to consult the Roman Bishop upon the deprivations which he meditated; and that prelate giving by his legates the desired advice, William affected to be completely confirmed in his judgment; and accordingly, the functionaries obnoxious to him were at once unhesitatingly removed. It was by such impolitic and dishonourable expedients, adopted by sovereigns for some temporary purpose, that they fostered the grasping spirit of papal Rome. The pontiffs occupying a see anciently the most important in Europe, and being surrounded throughout the middle ages with divines and canonists of unequalled eminence, were considered as useful referees. They gradually erected upon the habit of asking their advice a commonly admitted claim to a paramount jurisdiction.

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29. A contemporary writer says of the Charter-house monks, that they "went about with tooth and nail to defend and keep the same (their order), *and therefore stirred the people to rebellion against the King.*" Gloss of Athanasius upon *The seditious and blasphemous Oration of Cardinal Pole*, &c.

93. Yellow, the colour worn by Anne Boleyn on the death of Catharine of Aragon, appears to have been used as a mourning for queens in the court of France. Miss Aikin's Queen Elizabeth, i. 16.

93. Anne Boleyn's unfortunate premature delivery of a still-born male child, was occasioned, we are told by a contemporary versifier, by a fright which she received from suddenly learning that the King had received an alarming fall in hunting.

"Ung temps après ung enfant luy croissoit
Dedans le ventre, dont fort s'ejoïssoit,
Plus que jamais estoit reconfortée,
Prenant espoir du fruict de sa portée.
Adonc le Roy s'en allant a la chasse,
Cheut du cheval rudement en la place,
Dont l'on cuidoit que par ceste aventure
Il deust payer le tribut de nature.
Quand la Royne eut la nouvelle entendue,
Peu s'en faillit que ne cheust estendue
Morte d'ennuy, tant que fort esforça
Son ventre plain, et le fruit advença;
Et enfanta ung beau filz avant terme
Qui naquit mort, dont versa mainte larme."

Histoire de Anne Boleyn, *ap.* Crapelet, 178.

143. It is related of Anne Boleyn, that she required her chaplains plainly and freely to admonish her of any thing in her conduct, which they thought required amendment. The unsparing Latimer was one of these chaplains.

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Her charity likewise almost exceeded her means; little short of fifteen thousand pounds having been distributed by her in alms within three quarters of a year. (Foxe, 988.) Such appears to have been this unfortunate lady in mature life. Her education, it should be remembered, was received under two princesses famed for virtue and piety. Her father too was a man of known religion and unimpeached morality. All these facts furnish certainly very strong presumptions against the truth of those foul imputations which hurried her to an unhonoured grave.

332. Persons, in the following passage, imputes Lambert's condemnation to the King: "With whom (Lambert) in solemn public audience, he (Henry) disputed, in presence of all his clergy, and nobility of the realm, and caused Cranmer to do the like, and in the end made Cromwell, as his Vicar-general, to give sentence of death against him, and burn him in Smithfield." Three Conv. i. 556.

368. Abp. Cranmer thus intimates, that the act of Six Articles was passed by undue means. "And what marvel was it, that those articles, notwithstanding divers learned men repugning, passed by the most voices of the Parliament; seeing that although the authority of Rome was then newly ceased, yet the darkness and blindness of ignorance and errors that came from Rome still remained, and overshadowed so this realm, that a great number of the Parliament had not yet their eyes opened to see the truth? *And yet how that matter was enforced by some persons, they know right well that were then present.*" Cranmer against Gardiner, 252.

378. After the resignation of his see Latimer came to London for surgical assistance; the fall of a tree having recently inflicted a very severe injury upon him. It is not to be supposed that he had abandoned his old habits of honest freedom, and therefore he could not fail of laying himself open to the lash of the act of Six Articles.

465. Loyola, whose real name was Iñigo, was arrested at Salamanca in 1527, as a fanatic, and one of the *illuminati*,

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or *alumbrados*, also known as quietists. After a confinement of about twenty-two days he recovered his liberty. Llorente, Hist. Inqu. 371.

481. Hamilton, the Scottish martyr, was son of Sir Patrick Hamilton, and grandson of the Lord Hamilton, who married a sister of King James III. His mother was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch. He suffered on the last day of February, in the year 1528, being then about twenty-four years of age. M'Crie's Life of Knox, i. 28. 30.

VOLUME III.

35. For cution read cu*ra*tion.

168. Transubstantiation was broadly promulged from a high authority in the English Church soon after the date of the council of Oxford; for Richard Poore, who filled the see of Salisbury with distinguished reputation, between the years 1217 and 1225, or 1228, addressing a body of constitutions to his clergy, uses the very words in which this doctrine is maintained in Innocent's canon. Poore, however, shews an anxiety to have the doctrine implicitly received, which looks very much as if he felt a well-grounded suspicion that many would treat it as a novelty and an error. He pronounces, that communicants who do not believe transubstantiation will vainly say, Amen, and he directs the clergy to inculcate this doctrine upon their parishioners at every Communion. "Vos igitur sic sacrosanctæ mensæ communicare debetis, ut nihil prorsus de veritate corporis Christi ambigatis. Hoc enim ore sumitur quod fide creditur; et frustra respondetur Amen, a quibus de eo quod accipitur aliter sentitur. Instruere insuper debetis laicos quoties communicant, quod de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi nullo modo dubitent. Nam procul dubio hoc accipiunt sub panis specie quod pro nobis pependit in cruce; hoc accipiunt de calice

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quod effusum est de Christi latere; hoc bibunt, ut dicit Augustinus, quod prius fuderunt sævientes." (Labb. et Coss. xi. 257.) Of this passage it may be remarked by the way, that it is among the many proofs of the novelty of half-communion. The learned editors of the Councils refer Bishop Poore's constitutions to *about* the year 1217. That eminent prelate was not, however, translated to the see of Salisbury before the summer of 1217, and from the 70th constitution it appears that he did not issue this code until he had begun to rebuild his cathedral. The first stone of this noble church was laid in 1220. Moreover, from the last constitution it appears, that this code was published after the council of Oxford, holden in 1222. Poore's first episcopal promotion was to the see of Chichester. While Bishop of Salisbury he founded the present city, removing his episcopal see from Old Sarum, and he began the light and regular cathedral which remains to testify his taste and magnificence. He died Bishop of Durham in 1237. Godwin. de Præsul. 343. 740.

174. For *as* herself *to* read herself *as to*.

312. For *off*-recurring read *oft*-recurring.

340. For proposed him read proposed *to* him.

365. For Orienal read Orien*t*al.

441. For Sa*p*mford read Sa*mp*ford.

446. For the*n* read the*m*.

476. Persons uses the word *woodcock* as Boner does. "If this *woodcock*, or any of his crew can shew any one novelty, as an article of faith, in our religion, which was not believed in the Apostles' time, and in all ages since by the professors of the Catholic faith, either *explicite*, or *implicite*, as divines term it, we shall yield in all the rest." The Warn-word to Sir Francis Hastings, by N. D. p. 111.

508. For des*i*rable read der*i*vable.

532. For *e*rdinal read ordinal.

617. For contende*d* read conten*t*ed.

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683. For grea read great.

758. Sir John Gates appears to have first suggested to King Edward, that he ought to exclude the Lady Mary from the succession. The Lady Jane Grey to Queen Mary. Pollini, 355.

THE END.

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